THE SËIR MUTAQHERIN;

OR

REVIEW OF MODERN TIMES:

BEING AN

HISTORY OF INDIA,

From the Year 1118 to the Year 1194, of the Hedjrah,

CONTAINING, IN GENERAL,

THE REIGNS of the SEVEN LAST EMPERORS of HINDOSTAN,

AND, IN PARTICULAR,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH WARS IN BENGAL;

WITH A CIRCUMSTANTIAL DETAIL OF THE RISE AND FALL OF THE FAMILIES OF

SERADJ-ED-DÖWLAH *and* SHUDJAH-ED-DÖWLAH,

THE LAST SOVEREIGNS OF BENGAL AND OWD.

To which the Author has added

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND POLICY IN THOSE COUNTRIES,

AS FAR DOWN AS THE YEAR 1783.

The whole written in Persian

BY

SEID-GHOLAM-HOSSEIN-KHAN,

An Indian Nobleman of high rank, who wrote both as Actor and Spectator

VOLUME III

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VOL. III.

SECTION XII.

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Sabut djung, now Lord Clive, is coming to Bengal with absolute authority.

THE diary of Mir-djaafer-qhan's government and life had beet already closed by the hand of destiny, when intelligence arrived in Bengal, that the renowned Lord Clive, that man so much tried in war, was coming from the country of England with an absolute authority over the provinces of Bengal and Azim-abad. As such an intelligence had nothing pleasing for Governor Vansittart, and he did not think his presence convenable in Calcutta at such a time, he set out for England some time before that nobleman could arrive, and left the remaining gentlemen of the Council to regulate and settle, as Sovereigns, such business as concerned the Government. And these determined that Nedjm-ed-dŏwlah, heretofore known under the name of Mir-pahlory(1), eldest son to Mir-djaafer-qhan by Munny-begum, should succeed

Nedim ed-dŏwlah, *alias* Mir-pahlory, succeeds to his father, Mir-djaafer-qhan.

(1) This nick-name was given him by his mother, who in all the stages of her pregnancy, found herself longing after *Pahlories*, certain balls of pulse fried in sesame-oil, and sold about the streets. His title of Nedjm-ed-dŏwlah may signify the Star of the Empire.

to his father in the power of loosing and binding every business of Government and sovereignty with the advice of the gentlemen of the Council. When this matter came to be settled at Calcutta, Mr. Middleton, Chief of Moorshood-abad, and Mr. Djonson (Johnstone), Chief at Bardevan, went to the palace, and ordered Nedjm-ed-döwlah to take his seat on the mesned of sovereignty; a favour for which this Prince shewed his gratitude by respectfully presenting them with such a sum of money as had been agreed upon. And for some time he acted as absolute Governor, having Nand-comar for his Divan, a Minister who became the centre of all the private and public business of his master's in Bengal. Mir-mahmed-cazem-qhan, brother to Mir-djaafer-qhan, was appointed Governor of the province of Azim-abad on the part of his nephew, and Radja Durdj-naráin, brother to Ram-naráin, was named his Divan or Prime Minister. Shytab-ráy seemed to have been forgotten in this arrangement. He enjoyed already the office of Divan of the Bahar, on the part of the Emperor; and he had such connections with all the English, and specially with General Carnac, the Commander-in-Chief, that Shudja-ed-döwlah thought proper to take advice from the times, and to make him a present of a District about Azim-gur and Djohonpoor, called Mahoo, which produced more than one lac of rupees a year: and this he gave him as a free-hold or Djaghir. Some little time passed in this manner, when Nand-comar, with whom Henry Vansittart had been much dissatisfied, was sent for to Calcutta by the gentlemen of the Council, but not dismissed from his office, where his dependants continued to exercise full authority in his name. This Governor had set down in writing this man's misdemeanours and bad qualities; and he had got those sheets bound in the form of a book which he left in the hands of his brother, George Vansittart Hooshiâr-djung, with orders to produce it in Council, and to read it completely, whenever Lord Clive should come, and take his seat. The Council struck with the contents of that memoir, forbade Nand-comar from stirring out of the city of Calcutta, but did not choose to dismiss him from his office; because that Minister some time after the revolution that had overset Seradj-ed-döwlah to set Mir-djaafer-qhan in his stead, had served Lord Clive as his Moonshy or Secretary, and also as his Divan or Minister, at a time when that

Lord was yet only Colonel Clive; and likewise because this Divan had from thence conceived mighty hopes that his power and influence would receive a great accession on that nobleman's arrival in Bengal. Matters remained on that footing until Lord Clive arrived himself; when George Vansittart producing in full Council the book written by his brother, read it to that nobleman, word by word; and although the new Viceroy had intentions to oblige Nand-comar, yet such was the impression made upon him by the light thrown on that Minister's misdemeanours and character, that he altered his opinion of him at once, and dismissed him from his office, with injunctions not to stir out of the city and precincts of Calcutta.

Nand-comar, Prime Minister to the young Prince, is dismissed his office by Lord Clive.

Nand-comar's downfall made room for Mahmed-reza-qhan, son to the Physician Haddy-qhan-akuly, of Shiraz(2), a man who upon Mir-djaafer-qhan's second accession to the mesned, had been made Deputy Governor of the province of Dacca. This man came at once upon the stage of the world, in order to become by the mere force of his destiny the favourite object of boundless favours and endless graces from Lord Clive. He was recommended to the Deputyship of Nedjm-ed-döwlah's by that nobleman, who heaped honours and favours upon him, and gave him an absolute authority over his master in whatever concerned the Government; an office which made him the centre of all business, public and private. At the same time he procured for him the titles of Mahmed-reza-qhan the Valiant, ever Victorious in War(3); and little by little he obtained for him the further titles of the Eminent of the State(4), the Foremost of the Kingdom, and Lord of Lords. To these was added the privilege of riding in a Naleky(5), which in Hindostan is a distinction reserved to

Mahmed-reza-qhan is introduced at the young Prince's Court.

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(2) Shiraz, a city in Persia, the fourth in rank in that Empire, and the capital of Pars, the Persis of the Greeks.

(3) Mahmed-reza-qhan, *Bahadyr-Musafer-djung.*

(4) *Muaiên-ed-döwlah, Mubariz-el-mulc, Qhan-qhanan.*

(5) The Naleki is the shell of a Paienkin, without tent or covering. It is properly speaking the sedan of the Palenkin; for this last is to all intents and purposes a kind of bed hanging at the fore and after part from a bamboo that rises archwise over it, and supports the tent or canopy. But the Naleky has neither the arching nor the tent; and instead of hanging from one bamboo, it is set upon two straight ones, as an European chair, with two bamboos that rest upon the shoulders of eight men.

Sovereigns. It must be observed that, when the intelligence arrived in England of the revolution effected in favour of Mir-cassem-qhan, and of the troubles that had been the consequences of it, the people of that country conceived such fears for the Company's safety, and fancied their affairs to be so teeming with mighty difficulties, that they thought no one equal to the task of re-establishing the Company's affairs, and quieting the country, but Lord Clive himself. And as such a commission was in their opinion an object of mighty importance and difficulty, they thought it incumbent upon themselves to make some amends to that Commander, by promoting him at once from the station of simple Colonel, to the dignity and title of Lord, which in England and London answers to the dignity of Omrah, in Hindostan. He was furnished at the same time with such ample powers, and such an extensive authority, that no Governor to this very day has ever been invested with so unbounded an influence, unless it be the valiant Navvab Mr. Hushtin, who is the prop of the State, and the daring in war and in battles; and who by surpassing even Lord Clive himself in dignity and importance, can have no equal or companion either in Hindostan or in Europe, and really deserves all that elevation. Lord Clive in taking the steps he had taken, or indeed in any business whatever, was not bound to deliberate with a Council. Looking upon no man to be his equal, he made no account of any one, whether Hindian or English; and to give a specimen of his power, he first of all informed Djanson and Middleton, that they had done properly in placing Nedjm-ed-dŏwlah in his father's station; but that they had acted very improperly and very unjustly, in taking money from him. He added, that such a sum must be accounted for by charging it to the Company's credit. To this requisition, the two gentlemen answered, first of all, by sending in their resignation, and then by declaring openly, " That so long as they were in the " Company's service, they were bound to obey his commands, " but now that they had resigned it, they had no further orders to " receive from him; and that, if he had any thing to say to them, " he must say it in the Royal Court of Justice. That as to his in-" junctions for refunding the money they had received, they would " be ready to submit to such a measure, and to refund the two " small sums they had received from Nedjm-ed-dŏwlah, whenever

Lord Clive everywhere as an absolute Monarch.

Attacks Johnson's and Middleton's conduct.

"himself should think it proper to pay into the same treasury "the enormous sums he had received from Nedjm-ed-döwlah's "father, at the time he had placed him on Seradj-ed-döwlah's "mesned." Lord Clive on hearing so resolute and so undisguised an answer, and on finding that they had resigned the service, did not dare to enter into any discussion with them, and he remained silent. Djanson himself went home; but Middleton who had been long in Hindia, addicted himself to a mercantile life; and after some time he found means to be re-admitted in the service, where he became Chief of Moorshood-abad; when his last moment arriving, he died at Páinty, a spot near Shah-abad, midway betwixt Azim-abad and Moorshood-abad. He was entombed on that very hill of Páinty, where his monument is seen from afar. In his nation he bears a celebrity for goodness of heart and much benevolence. But supposing that he was a man of much goodness, nevertheless there was no comparing him in genius and many other good qualities to Doctor William Fullerton; nor in bravery and military abilities, as well as firmness in friendship and steadiness of temper to Colonel Godard; nor in wisdom of conduct, or attention to the rights of friendship and love, or in knowledge and keenness in the intricacies of business and government, to George Vansittart; nor in goodness and in civility and many other qualifications to Mr. Aayoun-Law and Mr. Thomas-Law, who was younger brother to Mr. Ayoun-Law, and equal to his elder brother, in merit(6). Nor was Baaloo Sahab inferior to them. But Tamsan Sahab was incomparable in many valuable qualifications; and so were Mr. Anderson and Mr. Elliott, two young men who had no equal in the very perfection of wisdom, civility, and kindness, and in the whole assemblage of whatever could conciliate respect or love to a character. It is even reported of Mr. Anderson's younger brother, that he is equal to his elder brother, and in some sciences, such as the Mathematics, his superior. Few men equal to these have been seen in that nation; for although some other English characters are spoken of with encomiums, yet as I never had any business or connections with them, I have not sufficient knowledge to write of them.

(6) All these names having been at first heard wrong, and then mispelt, and at last ill written and that too without vowels, there is no making any thing of them.

It was about this time that Mr. Billers succeeded in right of seniority to the Chief-ship of Azim-abad. He was a man of little understanding, and on that account, much inclined to submit to the guidance of Mr. Middleton and Mr. Djonson. On his being appointed, he went from the garden of Bauky-poor, the then residence of every English ruler, and having traversed the city in great pomp and state, he proceeded to the castle where he ordered Mir-cazem-qhan to take his seat on the mesned of government, as Viceroy of the province of Bahar. This installation produced him a sum of money; but as at the same time he listened implicitly to the dictates and instigations of some Gentoos, as senseless as himself, he became himself guilty of some improper actions, which rendered him distracted when he came to hear of Lord Clive's arrival, and of his great power and severity. He was seized with consternation on his past conduct, and killed himself with his own sword. He was buried in that very garden of Bauky-poor where he has remained ever since, a standing stock for the reflections of his own countrymen. Billers, Chief of Azim-abad, kills himself.

But it was General Carnac who enjoyed now the full sunshine of favour. He had these many years enjoyed the friendship and confidence of Lord Clive's; and he became now the principal manager of his politics and government, as well as the centre of all business, public and private. He had been heretofore a warm friend of Doctor Fullerton's; but having become his sworn enemy, he had put some matters into Lord Clive's mind, that made him dismiss the Doctor from the service. This gentleman after taking an affectionate leave of his friends, by whom he was exceedingly regretted, set out for his country, from which he promised to come back again, on his being able to obtain certain conditions and stipulations for himself. It appears that his intention did not tally with the decrees of Providence; for he has not yet appeared, although there is intelligence of his being alive and in health. Wherever he may be, God, Almighty, preserve him in peace of mind. Doctor Fullerton dismissed from the service.

Lord Clive's first care, after his arrival in Calcutta, was to take cognizance of some pressing business, and to settle some important regulations. After those arrangements, he resolved to repair to Ilah-abad, in order to carry certain points which he had settled in his mind; and the Vezir himself, on that nobleman's

invitation, and that of General Carnac's, quitted Fáiz-abad, his capital, and took the road to Ilah-abad, being much encouraged thereto by the insinuations of Shytab-ráy's, who was the harbinger of peace between the different parties. There appeared at this time a certain person called Mirza-cazem-qhan, a Persian born, who by marrying in the family of Hassen reza-qhan, grandson to Hadji-ahmed, had acquired many friends, and in time had been promoted to the government of the District of Sarseram and Cháin-poor, through the interest of Aaly-hibrahim-qhan. As Lord Clive had once known him when in Decan, he now remembered his acquaintance, made him an object of boundless favors and high preferment, presented him with one lac of rupees contant, and admitted him so far amongst his favourites, that to all appearance it is to his interest and management that Mahmed-reza-qhan owes his elevation to the summit of power. The latter wanted to return the obligation; and as he could not bear to see Shytab-ráy's extensive influence, and his participation in every secret of State, he recommended the new favourite as an able negotiator; his intention being to supplant Shytab-ráy in the future negotiation with the King and the Vezir. This matter had even been settled with Lord Clive, without the General's knowledge; and it was with this view that the Mirza had accompanied that Lord in his journey to Hindostan. But that nobleman, who on his arrival at Azim-abad, had maturely examined Mir-cazem-qhan, the actual Governor, and Durdj-naráin, his deputy, as well as Shytab-ráy; and had weighed their several degrees of merit and capacity in the scales of discernment and penetration; soon came to take his resolution in favour of the latter, whom he desired to accompany him in his journey; his intention being to make use of him as an agent and a go-between in the ensuing negotiation. As to the actual Governor, Mir-cazem-qhan, he found him to be a man simple and plain, but unfit for so weighty an office as the government of Azim-abad. He even seemed to listen to the proposals of Durdj-naráin's, who actuated by avarice and covetousness, wanted to be the sole disposer of all the affairs of Government to the exclusion of his benefactor. This Gentoo, unmindful of all the obligations he owed both to the above nobleman, and to his elder brother, Mir-djaafer-qhan, thought only of advancing his own affairs under pretence of

Some account of Mirza-cazem-qhan.

promoting his master's interest; and he went so far as to lay claim to the administration of the province in his own and sole name. Lord Clive who did not think the hurry of a voyage a fit time for dismissions and appointments, left the matter undecided: and taking Shytab-ray with him, he journeyed to Ilahabad, where he had the honor to pay his respects to the Emperor. After which he visited the Vezir; and having exchanged with him some sumptuous entertainments and several curious and magnificent presents, he explained the project he had in his mind, and asked that the Company should be invested with the Divan-ship of the three Provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Ooressa, of which office he requested the proper Patents from the Vezir and the Emperor. As both the Emperor and the Vezir were already in their minds subdued by the superior courage and prowess of the English, as well as overawed by the strength of mind and penetration of Lord Clive's (two articles in which they were greatly overmatched), they were obliged to grant the request, although reluctantly. Having therefore ordered the Seneds or Patents to be drawn up in the manner that had been desired, they delivered them in the hands of Lord Clive's. By these Patents twenty-four lacs a year were settled as the Imperial tribute, or quit-rent over the three provinces, for the future; and the Company's acknowledgment and bond for the same, which are the owner's voucher, were drawn up under their seal, and entered in the Imperial registers. Thus a business of such a magnitude, as left neither pretence nor subterfuge, and which at any other time would have required the sending wise Ambassadors and able negotiators, as well as a deal of parley and conference with the Company and the King of England, and much negotiation and contention with the Ministers, was done and finished in less time than would have been taken up for the sale of a jack-ass, or of a beast of burden, or of a head of cattle. The Lord having accomplished his purpose, returned to the seat of his command, which is called Calcutta; and left for his agent at the Emperor's Court, Colonel Usmutt (Smith), who after the Lord's departure for England, received the title of General, and became entrusted with the command of the English army. His office was only that of an Agent near the Emperor's person, but in fact he was his master and Lord to all intents and purposes;

Lord Clive goes to Ilahabad and obliges the Emperor to invest the English Company with the office of Divan of Bengal, Bahar, and Ooressa.

and he was himself so sensible of his power, that he took his abode within the castle, and in the Imperial Palace, whilst the Emperor was obliged to remain without; where to conceal his shame, he amused himself in finishing with brick and stones some buildings which he had heretofore commenced. But even there he was not free from insult. For the Colonel one day being displeased at the noise which the Imperial kettle-drums and other warlike instruments made in the place appointed for them over the gate of the castle(7), sent them order to cease, and forbade their playing any more; with which order those poor men thought proper to comply, and henceforward they remained without performing their duty and without bread. Verse—

Insolence of Colonel Usmutt.

" Have patience; every one shall have his turn for five days."

As to Mirza-cazem's views of supplanting Shytab-rây in the business of speaker or Agent of Lord Clive's, they totally miscarried. Shytab-rây's good manners, and flowing language, together with his penetration, and keenness of genius, had gained so much on the Lord's heart; and he had impressed his mind with so deep a sense of gratitude for the services he had rendered the Company and the English Commanders, to whom he bore a sincere attachment, that Mirza-cazem missed the office which he aimed at, and returned with his protector without obtaining his ends. However, he became instrumental in putting an end to Aaly-hibrahim-qhan's exile. For although this nobleman enjoyed much consideration with the Vezir and his Minister, nevertheless he lived uneasy on account of his being deprived of his friends and country; and he became now desirous of returning to Bengal, chiefly through the persuasion of the said Mirza. This gentleman, who remembered how instrumental that refugee nobleman had once been in screening him from the blaze of Mir-cassem's resentment; and how much he was indebted to a patronage that had sheltered him so effectually from the scorching rays of that burning sun, so as to bear him harmless and in the very palm of his hand, now thought it incumbent upon him to make a return for those important benefits. He therefore presented him to Lord Clive

(7) This was a much graver affront than an European could apprehend; for this music, which consisted of a variety of instruments, and played three or four times a day, and once at night, is a mark of Sovereignty, and always of command.

and the General, and obtained permission for his return to Moorshood-abad; to which city the Qhan was strongly inclined, on account of his long residence in it, and the number of friends and acquaintances he had there. He set out then with Mirza-cazem, and was received amongst the favourites and friends of Mahmed-reza-qhan's. But although he was treated with much honour and regard, he was not held in that high consideration which he deserved.

Lord Clive being returned to Azim-abad, dismissed Mir-cazem-qhan from the government of that province, and appointed in his stead Rajah-Durdj-naráin, as sole Governor, with full power for loosing and binding every thing all over the country. Nevertheless, he assigned to Mir-cazem-qhan a yearly pension of one lac; and this nobleman went and took up his residence at Radj-mahal-ecber-nagar, where he had been born and bred, and where the easiness of his temper made him keep clear of all strife and contention, contenting himself with passing his days in quiet and affluence, by which he acquired the name of a good-natured man. But Durdj-naráin, as if in retribution for the ingratitude and underhand dealing with which he had used the poor man, his master and benefactor, was in a few days put to a deal of shame, and dismissed from his office with disgrace. Insomuch that this man who had been endeavouring to raise himself to the sole government of the province at the expense of his master, lost both his character and life, as we shall shortly mention in its proper place. Lord Clive after a few days' stay at Azim-abad, repaired to Calcutta, where he settled to his own mind every part of the administration. He associated Mr. Sykes to himself in the business of regulating matters of revenue, for which purpose he appointed him Chief of Moorshood-abad, whilst the late Djessaret-qhan was appointed to the government of the province of Dacca-djehan-ghir-nagar. But the country of Bardevan was taken out of the hands of the Hindians, and entrusted to the care of two or three trusty and approved Englishmen. Roh-eddin-hosséin-qhan, son to Séif-qhan, and grandson to Umdet-el-mulk-emir-qhan, Governor of Cab8l, was continued in his Government of P8raniah. He had chanced in a swift Morpanky (8) to overtake Lord Clive about Shah-abad and Páinty,

Changes and promotions throughout Bengal.

(8) The Mor-panky, as its name implies, is a swift elegant boat, the poop whereof is fashioned and painted like a Peacock, whose tail, colored and gilt,

whilst the latter was going up in the heighth of the rains; and he had rendered so satisfactory an account of his conduct, that he had been confirmed in his post, with orders to send the product of his government, which did not amount to more than six or seven lacs a year, to the Cachery or Exchequer of Moorshood-abad, as it had been customary formerly. But such was this man's ignorance of business, and his natural sloth; and such was his prepossession in favour of that ungrateful, faithless favourite of his, called Asker-aaly-qhan, who was son of his father's Pir-zada or director, and whom he had entrusted with the management of all his concerns, small or great, public or private, that in two or three years' time, he lost his office and appointment, as it shall be mentioned hereafter. As to the Djaghirs, Altum-gahs, Free-holds, and private possessions of several people, which had always been held free both by Aaly-verdy-qhan, and by his successors, who never made any objections to their privileges, they were respected by the English, who following that example of lenity, left them unmolested; nor was any injury or chicane offered to a single man amongst the possessors. This proved to be one of the tokens of Divine goodness, and one mark of English munificence; for had it not been for that lenity, all was over with the ancient nobility and gentry of this land; nor could any one of them pretend to live a single day in it even under the bare canopy of heaven. The English did even more. For the revolutions and alterations which resulted from the changes of the Emperors, and which the wonted faithlessness of men in office had rendered almost certain and unavoidable, were now put an end to by these strangers, who established it as a standing rule, that whoever was actual possessor of a spot of land, should remain in possession of it for ever; and that after him it should devolve to his posterity. Thanks be to God Almighty, that matters have remained on that footing; and that it is become customary and established, that those who satisfied with little, have let themselves down the

Lenity and generosity of the English towards the Land-holders of Bengal.

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extends from head to stern. It is rowed with paddles managed by twenty, thirty, or forty men that have their faces turned to the place they intend to fetch. Such a vessel, of a hundred feet in length, was put on board an *East-Indiaman*, by Governor Vansittart, but divided in three parts, which were put together in London, and presented to King George I. *Look at Note 43, Section 8.*

scanty stream of resignation and contentment, should be suffered, to glide safely in it with their children and families; and may God grant out of His goodness that we may meet with no worse times than these!

It must be mentioned that Lord Clive, after a short stay at Moorshood-abad, had landed in the garden of Saaduc-bagh on his way to Ilah-abad, where he had been complimented by Nedjm-ed-döwlah and Mahmed-reza-qhan, who had accompanied him so far. On Lord Clive's departure, these noble persons were returning to their palaces, when on a sudden, Nedjm-ed-döwlah was assaulted by some sharp pains in his bowels, which finding no vent at all, became so excruciating, that the young Navvab on his alighting at his palace, departed this life. It was on the twenty-fourth of Zilcaad, in the year of the Hedjra one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine. He was succeeded in the government of the country by Séif-ed-döwlah(9), his second brother, a young man of gentle manners, and who shewed himself inclined to do good and to oblige; but he too in a few days hastily quitted his life and government, leaving a good name behind. His power did not extend far; but so far as it went, he never suffered it to fail, whenever there was an act of benevolence and commiseration to be performed.

Strange and sudden death of the young Navvab of of Bengal, who is succeeded by Séif-ed-döwlah *alias* Mir-pahlory, his brother, who soon follows him to the grave.

A. D. 1766

(9) I was passing by the young Prince's gate at that very time. I was stopped by a crowd, when lo! there came out at one and the same time, that he was taken ill, and that he was dead. Immense crowds thronged the whole length of the street, where it would have been difficult to descry one single person that was not actually beating its breast, or bathed in tears. The desolation and screams of the women in particular, are not to be described; and the curses universally poured against the supposed author of that unaccountable death, will never be forgotten. People pointed to Mahmed-reza-qhan, whose sway and overbearing temper, neither this Prince, nor his elder brother, could brook. It is remarkable that people talked freely, of the first sudden and amazing death; but on this second death, people became silent and sullen. I was then at Aga-aaly's house, who was my neighbour, and an eminent merchant, attached to Mahmed-reza-qhan; and there were present then Hadji-mahmed-beg, Fodjdar of Moorshood-abad, Hadji-mahmed-lang, Aga-reza, and some other Moghuls, all attached to that Minister. *The general report* said the translator, *charges Mahmed-reza-qhan strongly. What is your opinion of it? Ha! Sir,* said one of the company, *the physicians are all of his Cabal—all Moghuls*...but here he was interrupted by these words: *People do not talk of such matters at Moorshood-abad,* said very gravely, Aga-aaly; and this admonition was followed by a long pause.

Shytab-rày had attended Lord Clive to Ilah-abad by order; but on that nobleman's departure from thence, he of his own accord took his leave for a certain time, under promise of returning soon, as he had some particular business of his own. As to my forgiven father, he was so dissatisfied with the complexion of the times, and the contempt in which the Majeśty of the Empire was held, that he had chosen to live retired, and satisfied, upon that small Djaghir or estate which he possessed in this province from ancient times; and from whence he used now and then to repair to Azim-abad for the purpose of paying one or two visits to whoever happened to be seated on the mesned of Government. For he thought it expedient to be upon some terms with the men in office, lest he should be molested by those men who lived by wickedness; and it was on that account, that he had come to Azim-abad to wait on Lord Clive. But that Viceroy, who always travelled in haste, having already quitted that city, my forgiven father went no farther, but sent Séyd-aaly-qhan, my brother, who was a great friend of Rabia-begun's (mother-in-law to Mahmed-reza-qhan). His intention was that he should accompany Shytab-ráy, to which last he wrote a letter, intimating the design he had in view in sending his son; for he requested his assistance in such matters as depended on the Nizamet, that is, on the interference of the Navvab and of the English. He informed him at the same time that he had sent his son for the purpose of procuring some Seneds or Patents under the Navvab's seal. The style of the letter was of so conciliating a nature, that Shytab-ráy, who possessed much sense and good nature, and knew how to rate every one's worth and station, answered it with particular marks of civility and good will, promising his services and assistance with the best grace imaginable. My forgiven father, on this promise; sent the harcara or head spy, Moorly-dur, who was one of the Columns of the Government of Azim-abad, a man of keenness and abilities, who had orders to attend Shytab-ráy; and Séyd-aaly-qhan himself was ordered to attend them both; for which purpose he went with them as far as Moorshood-abad.

On Shytab-ráys arrival at Calcutta, Lord Clive, by the General's advice, proposed to attach him to his person, by employing him in whatever was relative to matters of finance and government.

Shytab-ráy, who was sensible how much exposed he was to the shafts of envy and obloquy, and who wished to shew his resignation and want of pretensions, brought many reasons forward for excusing his backwardness, but he was not heard; and the Viceroy insisted so earnestly, that Shytab-ráy was obliged to acknowledge his being ill of a distemper, which was looked upon to be a confirmed lues. On this intelligence, he was made ovor to Lord Clive's body Physician and Doctor, who was ordered and bound to attend Shytab-ráy. The Doctor applied himself to his task so earnestly, that his patient's distemper which had risen to its heighth, and raged with so much violence as to prevent all bodily motion, especially that of the joints in the legs and arms, was totally expelled and put an end to, by only rubbing the parts with a remedy composed of quick-silver and hog's fat. It disappeared so intirely as not to leave a trace behind. Shytab-ráy made the Doctor a present of ten thousand rupees; but as soon as he was in full health, he was promoted to the titles of Maha-radja and Bahadyr(10), to the high rank of Commander of five thousand horse, and to an allowance of twenty-five thousand rupees per month for the expenses of his Government, besides five thousand more for his own person. Over and above that, he was complimented with an enlargement of his Djaghir, and likewise with a more extensive share of influence in the management of Government matters, in which he was associated to Durdj-naráin and to Mr. Middleton, which last was Chief of the factory of Azim-abad. Moreover he was entrusted with the use of Séif-ed-döwlah's Seal, who was reputed Nazem of all the three Provinces; after which he was ordered to return to his office.

Shitab-ráy cured of the lues, and promoted to dignities and emoluments.

As to my forgiven father's business, it was performed to his own wishes by the exertions of Séyd-aaly-qhan, my glorious brother, and by the patronage of Rabiah-begum, his patroness,

(10) These two words in the Shanscrit, or sacred language of Hindia, signify great King, or great Prince. But since the Mahometans have taken possession of that region, they are become only an honorific title given to Hindoos of high distinction; just as the word *Qhan*, which in the Tartar, or Turkish language signified a King, is now become an honorific title only, all over India, as well as in Persia, and the beginning only of the titles of honour; that of Bahadyr, which signifies valiant, is the next. *See the note 25th, Section 1st.*

even some time before Shytab-rây had returned to the city of Moorshood-abad.

During all this time I was by Doctor Fullerton's recommendation an attendant on Mr. Sage, one of the ablest and most considerable Englishman of that time, who conducted all the business of Banares. Moreover, I enjoyed in that city the honour of paying a respectful attendance to the most perfect, and glorious, Sheh-mahmed-aaly-hezin, (whom God may place amongst the highest of his elect!) My forgiven father was residing with his whole family, relations, dependants, and retinue at Hosséin-abad, a town which he had founded and built on his Djaghiri-lands; when at once, and without any apparent cause, his holy person resented a slight indisposition, which soon became a continuous fever. It is reported that it struck into his brain like a fit of apoplexy. His senses, however, and understanding were little impaired. Nevertheless the twelfth day after his first indisposition, it being a Sunday, the third of the second Djemady, in the year one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine of the Prophet's retreat (on whom may be peace and blessing for ever!) he was pleased to depart to the merciful mansions of the Omnipotent King, and was inhumed in the town which he had founded. May God's mercy be over him, and may he be admitted into the mansions of the pious and virtuous! This doleful intelligence was brought to me at Banares by an express dispatched by my glorious mother (whose shadow may long continue to stretch over me!) I received likewise repeated and pressing letters from my kind bother, Naky-aaly-qhan-fahr-ed-dŏwlah, and from some other relations and kinsmen, who all requested my presence instantly. This intelligence having overset my schemes, I discontinued my attendance on Mr. Sage, and proceeded to Hosséin-abad. The venerable just whom I have just been mentioning, and upon whom I had hitherto waited so respectuously and so constantly, was dissuading me from that journey. "A little time more," would he say, "and I will quit this fragile "world. I wish that at that moment you may not be asunder "from me." These words melted my heart. But the importunities of my mother, and of those that survived my forgiven father, together with the feebleness of my own destiny, did not allow my obeying commands so worthy of obedience, or of

Death of the author's father, the Vezir Hedáiet-aaly-qhan.

reaping the advantages of my attendance on that venerable man. Had I been able to stay, my attendance on him would have proved the greatest happiness of my life; but there is no helping the failures of on's destiny! Verses:

"To those born to ill luck, of what use can be a complete guide?" (11)
"See! an Elia is bringing an Alexander thirsty from the fountain of life!

At last I arrived at Hosséin-abad; and on hearing of my forgiven father's demise, I proceeded to Moorshood-abad, where by good luck Shytab-râу and Séyd-aaly-qhan had chanced to make a stay, and had got the confirmation of my Djaghir's Patent, which was drawn up in the name of the lowest of men(12), who was the oldest of the forgiven's children; and they brought it to him on their return to Azim-abad.

We left Shytab-ráy on his way to take possession of his new office of Azim-abad. On his arrival in that city, he thought it incumbent on his wisdom and uprightness to make it a rule, that the conferences for business of Government and finances, should be held, neither in his own house nor in that of Durdj-naráin's, but wholly in the Imperial Castle, which place had been time out of mind allotted for the assemblies of all such men as were in office, for all such as rented any land from Government, and for all such as had business with them. It was likewise established that the English Chief should repair thither at the appointed time, and be seated in a chair of State; and that over against him, on a long mesned spread on the ground for the occasion, Durdj-naráin should be seated on one side, and Shytab-ráy, on the other, with each a cushion of State on their back(13). That on every Patent drawn up, Durdj-narâin should sign his *baés*(14) at the bottom

Regulation, established at Azim-abad by Shytab-ráy, now Viceroy of Azim-abad

(11) Alexander (and there are several of them), on being conducted to the fountain of life by the Prophet Eliah himself, met with so many cross accidents, that he was obliged to return without having quenched his thirst.

(12) The words, *the poor man*, at the third person, always signify, *me*; but none but persons of the highest distinction have a right to call themselves, in their letters or in their conversation, *the least of men*.

(13) A cushion of State is called a Gáo-Takkiá, an ox cushion, or a large cushion. It is cylindrical, three or four feet in length, and twenty inches in diameter.

(14) Letters are never signed in India, (but the Gentoos sign). The writer only, if he be a man of importance, writes the word *Bués*, or even *es*, in large characters. Now as the seal whereon the writer's name is engraven, is put on the outside of the letter only, together with the place, name, and date, and all that is only set down on the cover, one may judge from thence what degree of authenticity

of it; and that Shytab-rây should just by it, or below Nedjm-ed-dŏwlah's seal, write in his own hand, and with a flourish, the words, *it has been seen.* So much regularity could not please Durdj-naráin, a man who prided on his having held the Government in his own single person, as well as on his relationship to Ram-naráin; and who used to apply his own private seal to matters of business; and as he had no other overseer but his ownself, and he was known to have acted all along faithlessly in imitation of his deceased brother, and of all the other lessees, his predecessors, he felt himself much hurt by the new regulations, but however submitted to them. Hence his concurrence ceasing to be cordial, it increased the breach and dissensions between him and his colleague to such a degree, that the officers of Government split in two parties, one of which sided with Radja Shytab-rây, whilst the other continued as usual with Durdj-naráin. Matters turned out much worse, when the public accounts became objects of attention. Shytab-rây being in duty bound to inspect the papers of the Divanship, or the management of finances, soon found that the estimates of the revenue had been very faithlessly made; and that in every transaction thousands and ten thousands had been withheld as perquisites of office, and as Nezers to Durdj-naráin. On which liberties he adverted with much severity, as highly improper. He therefore provided another set of lessees and renters of the revenue, who undertook to preserve the article of perquisites and Nezer-anas, over and above the full finance due to Government. On which offer he sent a message to Durdj-naráin in these terms: "Either oblige the actual "incumbents to account fully for the late failures, or dismiss them, "and set up the new proposers in their stead." As in either case the incapacity and faithlessness of that man's would have come to light of themselves, to his great danger and shame; and there appeared likewise in the receipts of Government, and in the public expenses, much collusion and infidelity, Shytab-rây selected some trusty friends of Durdj-naráin's, by whose channel he sent him notice that the public money must be replaced by all means, but that he wished it might be done in such a manner as should not tear the veil which hung over it. Meanwhile

And discoveries made thereby in Durdj-naráin's management.

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such vouchers would be allowed to in a European Court of Justice. *Look at the*

Moorly-dur, the harcara, who had joined Shytab-ráy's party, being from longhand thoroughly acquainted with every minute circumstance relating to former transactions, was daily ripping open the lining from Durdj-naráin's secrets, and exposing to view the inside of his cloth. But that infatuated man, trusting to so much merit as accrued to him from his brother Ram-naráin's having been thrown into the Ganga for his thoughtless attachment to Mr. Amyatt and General Carnac, listened to no sober advice, and was full of excuses and pretences. So far from attending to Shytab-ráy's advice and reprimands, he would not hear even the surmises of his best friends; nor could he be made to understand, that the English, on that single merit of his brother's murder, would not carry their complaisance so far, as to let him enjoy as a Djaghir the whole revenue of the province; so that he should cut and carve for himself. The matter little by little taking vent, came to the knowledge of the Lord, of General Carnac's, and of the principal Englishmen, all of whom by several friendly messages had endeavoured to withdraw the cotton of sloth and neglect from out of Durdj-naráin's ears, and all of whom had advised him to listen to Shytab-ray's proposals, to submit to his regulations, and to replace the balances he had incurred. To all these he used at every time to answer by a short letter of excuses. And matters remained on the usual footing, until Lord Clive, for what reason God knows, conceived in himself the design of returning home; but thought it expedient previously to renew his treaty and conventions with Shudjah-ed-dōwlah, with whom he wished to finish some business, especially that which concerned Radja Balvant-sing, a Prince ill-affected in general, but who now was impressed with a singular dread of Shudjah-ed-dōwlah's power and discontent. On the other hand, Shudjah-ed-dōwlah himself wanted to meet the English Viceroy on many accounts. All the parties then wishing for a parley, they agreed to meet at a place called Chaprah, and thither they directed their respective journeys; Lord Clive from Calcutta, the Vezir from Fáiz-abad, Munnir-ed-dōwlah from Ilah-abad, on the part of the Emperor, and the Radjah Balvant-sing from Banares.

Lord Clive makes a second journey to Ilah-abad.

On Lord Clive's arrival near Azim-abad, Radjah Shytab-ráy went out to meet him with such a state and such a retinue as he

could afford. But Durdj-naráin, who never thought but of his dignity and grandeur, came out of the city also, without once minding the balances he was adjudged to pay, or thinking how he might appease the Lord and his people; instead of that, he went to meet him with a deal of magnificence and pomp, and with a vast number of retainers. As soon as the two retinues were descried at a distance, such a sight could not fail to surprise both Lord Clive, and the English rulers, as they had repeatedly wrote to Durdj-naráin, that unless he paid the balances due by him, he must not think of coming in the Viceroy's presence. That nobleman hearing now that he was actually coming, sent a messenger to forbid his advancing one step farther; and the messenger having delivered the message just as he had received it, stopped him short, and made him return back. But as the injunction had been pronounced aloud, and in the presence of so many friends and foes, as well as of all those multitudes that had come out to meet or to see the Viceroy, it did no fail to cover that senseless and ill-fated man with confusion and shame. Shytab-ráy, on the contrary, was admitted to the *honor of the Lord's presence,* and received with much regard and favour. Whereas Durdj-naráin having drank from the hands of arrogance and inattention several glasses of wholesome, but bitter beverage, stopped short, and returned back; and now grown wiser from this rebuke, he in a short time provided for the payment of the outstanding balances, and soon obtained leave to make his bow; after which he mixed in the Viceroy's cortége, and passed the Ganga together with Shytab-ráy.

This little affair being over, the travellers went on; and in the month of Moharrem, of the year 1180 of the Hedjra, a meeting took place at the appointed spot between Lord Clive, the General, the Vezir, the Agent Munnir-ed-dŏwlah, and the Radja Balvant sing; and the usual compliments and discourses having been exchanged, it was settled, "That Radja Balvant hence-

And secures Radja Balvant-sing's situation by a treaty.

"forward would pay a yearly revenue of twenty lacs to Shudjah-"ed-dŏwlah, his Lord, who would forgive him the errors of his "past conduct, and leave him for the future in peace and tran-"quillity, but with a most solemn promise never to use any fraud "or artifice whatever against him. Moreover it was stipulated "that a breach of this article should be deemed a breach of the

"articles between Shudjah-ed-döwlah and the English." As soon as these articles and conventions between the Vezir, the Emperor, and the English were signed, together with those between the Emperor and the Vezir, as well as those between the Vezir and the Radja, they were written fair, and at length witnessed by the principal English, and registered in the usual forms. After which those noble pesonages exchanged entertainments, and curious, and costly presents amongst themselves; and the Vezir having been entertained with a mock-battle amongst the European soldiers, who managed their guns and musquets with an amazing quickness and celerity, made them a present of some thousand rupees, and returned to his capital. The Radja Balvant, after making such a present as was worthy of him, was dismissed; and he repaired to Ram-nagur, his nest, which is on the shore of the Ganga, over against Banares; and *Munnir-ed-döwlah* himself after having accomplished his purpose, returned to his master.

As soon as these matters were over, Shytab-rây mentioned in general terms the incapacity, sloth, and faithlessness of former managers; and he added "That the recovery of the balances "due by Durdj-naráin, and by his officers and dependants, was "far from being an easy task; nor could such a sum be ever "obtained without constraint and chastisement; and that as "himself, Shytab-ráy, was an improper man for such a business, "on account of the high regard he bore to the ancient acquaint-"ance and friendship that had subsisted between him and the "late Ram-naràin; and such sentiments would never permit him "to act against his surviving brother with the firmness and "severity requisite for recovering such large sums, it was "therefore proper that after His Lordship's arrival at Moorshood-"abad, Mahmed-reza-qhan, who was the centre and corner-"stone of all transactions, should vouchsafe to come over to "Azim-abad for a few days to perform that service on His Lord-"ship's instructions; after which he might return to his palace." This request of Shytab-rây's having met with the Lord's approbation, was followed by many favours and kindnesses, and that nobleman returned to Moorshood-abad, firmly resolved in his heart to entrust him with the whole Government, and to dismiss Durdj-naráin, with whose incapacity and endless infidelities he was tired.

On his arrival at Moorshood-abad he dispatched Mahmed-reza-qhan to perform the business he had so much at heart; and this Minister arrived in a little time at Azim-abad with all the terrors of power and punishment marching before him. At first he reprimanded and put under arrest the officers of Durdj-naráin's; and then he prevailed upon some of them to disclose the infidelities that had been committed. On their discoveries he confined some lessees, such as Sahomul, and Mohammed-naky-qhan, and Mahmed-ashruff-qhan the Cashmirian; and he arrested some others, who at last acknowledged their guilt. Sahomul was put to the cudjel, and thereby underwent a total disgrace. He was then sent to prison, there to remain until he had paid the balances due by him. The like fate hung over the two others, who were rescued in time by Radja Shytab-ráy's interpositon, although not but after they had bound themselves solemnly to pay their balances, before the expiration of their leases. But at this same time Durdj-naráin having by his infidelities and by his evident incapacity openly approved himself unable to perform a small service incumbent on his office of Governor Lieutenant, was disgraced and dismissed; and it was determined that his revenues and Djaghirs should be sequestrated, until the full of the balances due by him were liquidated; but that meanwhile a small pension should be reserved for his support.

Lord Clive sends Mahmed-reza-qhan to Azim-abad to recover the sums due to Government.

That envious man bore a grudge to my illustrious and excellent uncle, the valorous Séyd-abdol-aaly-qhan the Moosevian, surnamed the impetuous in battles, as if he had proved a thorn in his side, and an object of envy to him; and that too, for no other reason than the high regard constantly shewn him by Mir-djaafer-qhan, and by his brother, Mir-cazem-qhan. Durdj-naráin, in the heighth of his power and authority, which after all lasted but a while after Mir-cazem-qhan's dismission, had out of mere jealousy and envy, dismissed that illustrious man from the lease of the District of Shah-abad; and although this Gentoo himself, as well as his father, and his elder brother, had owed their elevation to the favour, and their very sustenance and livelihood, to the crumbs that fell from Mir-djaafer-qhan's table, and from those of that Prince's family; yet he no sooner saw himself in power, than he abandoned that venerable man to the rapacity

of his officers, who under pretence of examining his accounts, put him to a variety of trouble and anxiety; and this severe usage lasted until the Gentoo himself being dismissed from his borrowed authority, Mahmed-reza-qhan and Radjah Shytab-ráy took the whole different under their own inspection; and finding it destitute of any foundation, gave the venerable man a full acquittal. He then received an invitation from Rabia-begum, a Princess who knew the whole extent of his merit, and he went to Moorshood-abad with Mahmed-reza-qhan. For this Minister having performed with Shytab-ráy's advice the business for which he had come over, returned to Bengal; and Shytab-ráy remaining alone, was invested by the Council of Calcutta with the authority of disposing and finishing every business and transaction relative to the province of Azim-abad. As he was anxious for the honour of his character, he applied himself closely to the functions of his new office in conjunction with Mr. Rumbold, who on Mr. Middleton's unjust dismission from the Chiefship of that city, and the government of the province, had been appointed to command in his stead. It was at the time when Mr. Sykes was appointed to act in conjunction with Mahmed-reza-qhan at Moorshood-abad. Lord Clive satisfied with the state of affairs in these kingdoms, and with those arrangements he had made, departed to his own country.

This nobleman in his short sojourn in Bengal had always proved desirous of finding in Governor Vansittart's conduct such blemishes and misdemeanours, as might come out of themselves before the Council in England, in consequence of certain lights which he had taken care to provide, and to hold out for that purpose. For ingratitude and oblivion of benefits have at all times been, and still are, so far characteristic in the men of the world, and especially within this short period; and time serving and selfish behaviour, now deemed prudence and knowledge of the world, are come so much in fashion, and are risen to such a height, that no trust and no faith can be reposed in another man's friendship or attachment. Luckily, however, and this is to be admired, these very persons, who have chosen such practices, and have abandoned every claim to credit and honour, find themselves much disappointed in their reckoning; for these after having been much made of for a time by their employers, until the intended purpose is secured, come at last to be despised and

hated by them for their folly and wickedness, so as to become in their company a standing stock for scorn and derision. In consequence of such sentiments, those very persons upon whose information Lord Clive had reckoned so much, and who in fact had served him most sedulously in his views, proved to be those very men that had been over and over loaded with favours and benefits by Shems-ed-döwlah (Vansittart); and yet they joined Nand-comar, his inveterate enemy; and having drawn up a long list of his misdemeanours, they gave it to Lord Clive under their hands and seals. A transaction of such a magnitude having made an infinite noise, could not fail to come to my ears; but it was without any certitude of particulars, aslittle is to be got from that nation, which never mixes with others, and is suspicious and cautious to a high degree, being always so much upon its guard, that strangers cannot come at any of their secrets; nay it is quite impossible.

After this little digression, which the ingratitude, and wickedness of the times had thrown in our way, we shall return to our narrative. The Viceroy and the General after having appointed Mr. Veris (Verelst) Governor of Calcutta, and General Usmut (Smith) Commander-in-Chief of all the forces, departed to their country. It was about the time when Mahmed-reza-qhan received from the Emperor, who resided still at Ilah-abad, and was of late become fond of the company and conversation of the English, the titles of Lord of Lords, the Foremost of the State, and the Conspicuous of the Empire(15), with the privilege of being carried in a Naleky. Through the same recommendation Shytab-ráy obtained for himself the titles of the Perfect of the State, and of the Valiant, and Victorious in War; to which were added the honours and insignia of the Mahi. He was now cutting a capital figure at Azim-abad, where he passed his days with honour, ease, pleasure, and profit.

This Minister on the new Governor's installation made a voyage to Calcutta, whither I thought proper to accompany him, his good manners and civilities having made a conquest of my heart. Mr. Veris in several visits received Shytab-ráy handsomely, and dismissed him with regard and honour. The

(15) Qhan-i-qhanan, Mubaryz-el-mulc, Muaién-ed-döwla. Mumtaz-el-mulc, Bahadyr, Mansor-djung.

administration was settled in this manner, that Shytab-ráy and Mahmed-reza-qhan, and Djessaret-qhan, Bahadyr, should order all matters relative to Government and Revenue in the best manner they should devise for the Company's benefit; but that twice a week everything they should have settled, should be imparted at full length to the respective Englishmen, their associates, who should sign in those two days whatever should have been latterly transacted; and that every receipt and expenditure of each District, after having been so signed by the Englishmen of those parts, should be transmitted by each Nâib or Deputy to the Company's Registers of Calcutta at the end of each year. The affairs of distributive justice were left to the Daroga or Superintendent of that department, with power to hear and determine in small matters, equitably and to the best of his judgment; but affairs of importance were to be decided in the Nâib's presence, and in that of the Englishman, his colleague, for two days in each week, which days should be different from the usual justice days. In consequence of such an arrangement, business went on; and the English commenced acquiring a knowledge of the usages and customs of the country For it was a standing rule with them, that whatever remarkable they heard from any man versed in business, or even from any other individual, was immediately set in writing in a kind of book composed of a few blank leaves, which most of them carry about, and which they put together afterwards, and bind like a book for their future use. Matters went on in that manner, until Mr. Rumbold having in the year one thousand one hundred and eighty-three quitted Bengal to repair to his country, was succeeded by Mr. Alexander, as was Mr Sykes at Moorshoodabad by Mr. Beecher.

It was under the latter's administration that a famine made its appearance all over the country. It made its approaches with all its terrors, added to a severe mortality, and to a small-pox, that spared no age and no sex. Séif-ed-dôwlah himself fell sick of that distemper, and succumbed under its violence; as did his kinsman, Ashref-aaly-qhan. Foteh-ollah-qhan, brother-in-law to Mahmed-reza-qhan, underwent the same fate, which also swept away his consort. This lady was sister to the consorts of Mahmed-reza-qhan and of Hadji-ismail-qhan, (all three being

daughters of Rabia-begum, who was herself daughter of Hadji-ahmed's). The famine and small-pox having made their appearance at one and the same time in Muharrem, that is, at the commencement of the year one thousand one hundred and eighty-four, they both rose to such a height, and raged so violently for
A.D. 1769-70. full three months together, that vast multitudes were swept away; nor can their number be known but to Him that knows everything that is hidden or invisible. Whole villages and whole towns were swept away by these two scourges, and they suddenly disappeared from the face of earth. It was in such calamitous times, that is, in the month of Zilhidj, of the year 1185, that Mubarec-ed-döwlah, third son of Mir-djaafer-qhan's, was designed Nazem of Bengal; and on Mahmed-reza-qhan's recommendation, Aaly-hibrahim-qhan was appointed Divan or Superintendent of the new Prince's household, which constitutes the whole of what is called the Nizamet or Government of Bengal, and had then a revenue of twenty-four lacs from the Company's treasury. The new Minister, who was a man of an approved character, did not fail to exhibit many talents joined to a thorough inclination to do good and to oblige. Some further changes likewise took place in the new Prince's house and family. For Mahmed-reza-qhan, who is a man of strange proceedings, and still stranger inclinations, after having been for a course of years in close connection and in complete intimacy with Menny-begum, mother to Séif-ed-döwlah, wanted now to pull down that Princess, whose lofty spirit and extensive influence had given him much umbrage; and that too after having entered with her into certain stipulations and treaties solemnly sworn to. All this change of hands took place for the sake of similar intimacies and similar connections and treaties which had arisen of late between him and Babboo-begum, Mubarec-ed-döwla's mother, another Princess whom he wanted to raise upon her ruins. This new favourite having shewn at his instigation a mind to quarrel with Menny-begum, the two Princesses became so inimical to each other that they avoided each other's sight. But Menny-begum, whose extent of understanding nothing can be compared to, but the immense stock which she is known to be possessed of in jewels and money, thought proper to take notice of such an alteration; and although deeply v

by such underhand dealings, she thought it beneath her dignity to descend to an explanation; and she passed the whole over with a disdainful silence. Nevertheless, Babboo-begum's authoriy and sway were but of short duration.

It was observed at this period that the English of some rank spent their time merrily and in pleasures, and lived upom terms of much friendship and intimacy with the noblemen and other persons of distinction, natives of this country. They were endeavouring to engage them in conversation, especially upon the politics of the country; and so soon as an Englishman could pick up any thing relative to the laws or business of this land, he would immediately set it down in writing, and lay it up in store for the use of another Englishman; nor had they any other view in taking notice of a Moghul or a native, or in courting an acquaintance with him. No wonder then, if some persons, who in these times of half knowledge, had come by mere chance to the helm of affairs and Government, should prove fearful, lest others by imparting more knowledge and affording more lights, might bring them under the imputation of neglect or infidelity, and thereby lessen their importance in the estimation of the English. No wonder, if they made haste to initiate them in those whatever little arts of oppression and rapine, which they had themselves employed through thick and thin, and through wet and dry; or which had been devised by vile men, and set up as standing rules and established customs. It was upon such customs that they gave lessons to the English, doubtless to the end that not a jot of former tyranny might be abated, or lost by disuse An affair of Moorlydur's decision came one day to be debated in an assembly, where I remember to have been present. Two men disputed against each other. When sentence came to be pronounced, the one that had proved faithless and guilty, was fined into a sum of money, by way of fine and amend; but the other man, who had the right on his side, was likewise made to pay some money, by way of thanksgiving. Mr. Rumbold, who did not want sense, and was then like his other countrymen, who in those beginnings of their dominion were more careful and more inclined to conciliate the hearts of the natives than they are at present; Mr. Rambold, I say, could not help expressing his surprise at the decision, and said: "That to take a fine from the man who

"was in the wrong, and had behaved in a surly, impertinent "manner, is a proper way of punishing him; it is punishing his "infidelity in kind. But what I cannot understand," added he, "is that a fine should be levied also on him who had the right "on his side, and was guiltless. This seems to be very strange. "What can be the meaning of that?" This was answered by Moorly-dur and the other vile flatterers, who having observed the advantage arising from the thanksgiving, added, "That "this business had been transacted according to the rules and "customs of the land. That there was no innovation of theirs "in it; nor had they set up any new invention of their own." The gentleman expressed his astonishment and detestation, but remained silent; for the money arising from the practices of that vile multitude of time-servers has always a sweet savour. *Can it be expected then that a nation that has been brought to such a head by worldy-minded-men, and shews no other view or intent than that of adding to its acquisitions, will for any length of time abstain from such practices with such temptations and such examples under its eyes?* Even to this day, when the veil has been withdrawn from the whole matter, and intirely set aside, there never comes out of the hands of the English any such transaction or matter, as may reflect an ill renown on their own countrymen directly. It is the Indians that are made use of for such purposes; and it is only in consequence of the behaviour of their dependants in the management of revenue matters and in the distribution of justice; and in consequence of the incapacity and baseness of the Hindians themselves; that some corruption and some oppression has crept even amongst the English in office. I am inclined to believe that, if ever these foreigners come to conceive an inclination to alleviate the sufferings of the people of this land, and to attend to their supplications, probably the oppressed would find some release from the tyranny and hardships under which they now labour. For it is observed that not one of those that shewed so much zeal for the Company's benefit, but in fact had sought only their own welfare, ever thought proper to bestow a moment in informing the English of the reasons of some minute institutions; of the necessity of munificence and good-will towards the natives; of the foundation of ancient customs; and for what purpose

such and such an institution was set up, or what benefit might be derived from it. Matters have come to such a pass, that the Books and Memorandums composed by the English upon such interested reports as those of which we have given an example, have come to be trusted as so many vouchers; whereas they are only some faint idea of the exterior and bark, but not of the pith or real reason, of those institutions. Meanwhile as these strangers are men of penetration and extreme keeness of mind; and they have been sent by God Almighty to chastise this guilty, criminal race of Hindostanees, over some of whose deluded Sovereigns they have been made to prevail by breaking this race of proud Pharaohs and improvident short-sighted Princes by the strong hand of those new comers; so they are come at last to undervalue the Hindostanees, and to make no account of the natives from the highest to the lowest; and they carry their contempt so far, as to employ none but their ownselves in every department and in every article of business, esteeming themselves better than all others put together. It is true that they have commenced disputes and altercations with the rulers of their own appointing, and with their officers and dependants; but it is no less true that in the moment of inquiring about the infidelities, transactions and concussions of the latter, they have stopped short, to pass over the whole, with dissimulation and connivance. Nevertheless, this very inquiry is become one of the tokens of the Supreme Disposer's dispensations. For these men brought to the helm of affairs, and to the summit of power, by the mere partiality of the English, had in the little time which their borrowed authority had lasted, assumed so much pride and state; they were puffed with so much arrogance, and betrayed so much contempt for the rules of benevolence, and meekness and decence, that their behaviour is past belief. Neither the forgiven Mehabet-djung(16), nor the illustrious Shudjah-ed-dŏwlah, although both born in the heighth of power and exercising it in the fullness of authority, ever came up to one-tenth of the haughtiness of these envious men; nor did they ever use their dependants with so much superciliousness and arrogance, as did

(16) Aaly-verdy-qhan, the last real King of Bengal. He is hardly known by any other name than that title, which signifies the *dignity of war*, and possibly, *the terror of war*.

these new men. It is observable of these envious men, that whenever they come to spy any one enjoying some regard and consideration amongst the English, they get up immediately, and never give themselves any rest, until they have depreciated and discredited his merit; having made it a point to break the spirits, and to lower the characters of every one of those who can pretend to derive any native lustre from their noble descent, or from their rational and virtuous lives; and it is a fact, that every one of those new men singling out for ruin and disgrace some man of an ancient pedigree, allowed himself no rest, until he had carried his point, and had hunted his game down. In consequence of which envious persecution, it is come to pass, that at last all Hindostanees whatever have gradually lost the consideration and regard they enjoyed hitherto, and have fallen promiscuously in disgrace and contempt; but in such a manner, however, as that the very perpetrators of these machinations have met themselves with a reward adequate to their own wicked intentions, and have fallen in a greater contempt and disgrace than those very men they had been pursuing with so much eagerness. Nor has any thing befallen them, but what they richly deserved, and was of their own seeking; nor are they indebted for their own disgrace, to any but to their own hand and heart(17). Such are Thy dispensations, O Almighty God!

Severe hints against Mahmed-reza-qhan.

But let us leave these disagreeable matters. We shall speak of them more at large hereafter, so as to elucidate the above sentence; for we must now return to the course of our narrative. We may remember how Mir-roh-eddin-hosséin-qhan had by a sudden stroke of his destiny jumped into the Government of P8raniah, and had kept possession of it. This sudden Governor proved to be a man thoughtless and indolent, opinionated, excessively prodigal and unprovident; ever immersed in a sea of pleasures and sensualities; and never emerging from the gulf of a variety of strange practices, but to plunge headlong into all the excesses of drunkenness and forgetfulness of himself. He had given the title of Qhan to a young man, called Asker-aaly, who was grandson of Shah Mustepha-c8ly, one of his father's Directors; and he had become so very fond of him, as to invest him with full powers over his public and private concerns. This

(17) An Arabic sentence of the Coran.

fondness for him growing every day stronger and stronger, this young man, who was excessively intriguing and ill-natured, and withal so impatient and passionate, as to forget himself every moment, no sooner found out that his master was devoted to his will, than he did whatever he pleased. He made it a system to undermine all those that kept at a distance from him, whilst he promoted and carried forward his own creatures. He spent sums of money in the company of dancers of both sexes, singers, fortune-tellers, farcers, and a variety of such sorts of people; but as he took care also not to meddle with some relations of his master's, who were always of his table and company, he kept him in good humour, as well as fully satisfied with his own conduct; and all this at the very time he was continually oppressing both the farmer and the soldiery. No wonder if the revenues of the province fell into so much languor, that the officers of Government at Moorshood-abad lodged a variety of complaints against his master on account of the scantiness of his remittances. He was written to several times by some of his friends, who gave him warning of his danger; and even some of his intimates, fearless of his Nâib's power, ventured upon giving good advice to their slothful lord, but did no good; and they soon were exposed to the revengeful Nâib's resentment. At last one Hosséin-cooly, who had been a favourite eunuch to Séif-qhan, uncle to Roh-eddin-hosséin, prevailed upon him, after a deal of words and intreaties, to dismiss his favourite; after which he was himself made Nâib in his stead; and it must be acknowledged that in the little time his administration lasted, he brought public matters into some order, and regulated also his master's household. But Roh-eddin-hosséin, who remained ignorant of every thing, and minded nothing, but that young man, for whom he had, I know not what for, all the sentiments of the most impassionate lover, in a little time sent for him again, and reinstated him in his former office. He devoted himself again to his will, dispossessed the poor Hosséin-cooly, and again left every thing in that wretched youth's power and disposal. No wonder then if Mahmed-reza-qhan, who like all the other men in authority of those days, could not bear to see an illustrious name enjoy some regard or any consideration amongst the English, took care to represent to the Council the arrears and balances

Strange character of the Governor of P8raniah who is dismissed.

due by the Revenue of P8raniah, and got Roh-eddin-hosséin-qhan dismissed from his office. On his dismission it was bestowed on Rây-sóuchut-rày, who took a lease of that revenue. The Council at the same time settled a pension of five thousand rupees per month, that is, sixty thousand a year, on Roh-eddin-hosséin-qhan. Things went on in that manner for one year, when Sóuchut-rây himself was recalled and cast in prison; and Rezy-eddin-mahmed-qhan appointed Governor of the province.

Scarcity of coin felt in Bengal.

On this occasion it was observed that money had commenced to become scarce in Bengal; whether this scarcity be owing to the oppressions and exactions committed by the rulers, or to the stinginess of the public expense, or lastly to the vast exportation of coin which is carried every year to the country of England; it being common to see every year five or six Englishmen or even more, who repair to their homes, with large fortunes. Lacs piled upon lacs have therefore been drained from this country; nor is the cheapness of grain to impose on the imagination. It arises from nothing else, but the scarcity of coin, and the paucity of men and cattle. Nor are these deficiencies any thing else, but the natural consequences of the non-existence of that numerous Hindian cavalry, which heretofore used to fill up the plains of Bengal and Bahar, and which (reckoning those in the Government service, as well as those in the Zemindary pay, together with the expectants and their servants) could not amount to less than seventy or eighty thousand effective men; whereas now a horseman is as scarce in Bengal as a Phœnix in the world The decrease of products in each District, added to the innumerable multitudes swept away by famine and mortality, still go on augmenting the depollulation of the country; so that an immense quantity of land remains untilled and fallow, whilst those that are tilled cannot find a vent for their productions. And this is so far true, that were it not for the purchases of Saltpetre, Opium, raw Silk, and white Piece-goods which the English make yearly throughout Bengal and Bahar, probably a Rupee or an Eshreffi would have become in most hands as scarce as the Philosopher's Stone; and it would come to pass that most of the people newly-born would be at a loss to determine what it was which people called heretofore a Rupee, and what could be meant formerly by

the word Eshrefi(18). Matters continued in that languishing state until the end of the year 1184, at which time Mr. Veris having thought proper to go home, was succeeded by Mr. Cartier, the next in rank and seniority. Under this new administration the decrease of the rents struck the administration with amazement and fear. They were confounded at the great diminution of the revenue, and at the endless minutiæ in which it was involved. These men anxious to investigate the matter to the bottom, and to obtain a thorough insight in the rules and usages according to which the revenue was collected, came to the resolution of sending throughout the country one of their own nation, who should inquire what business the subject had with the Ruler; and in what relation stand the farmers to the Radjahs and Zemindars of the country(19); and what these are to give to the rulers of the land; and which and what perquisites and duties they draw; and under what name do they receive tributes. The choice fell on Hooshiar-djung-bahadyr, Mr. George Vansittart, who was also my particular friend; and who in fact proved a man of keen genius, much wisdom, and one of those who to a very valuable character of their own, joined a great acquaintance with the minute parts of business. This worthy man set out on the above business, first by going to Dinadj-poor; and there having acquired as much knowledge as his time could afford, he was welcomed with the applause of his friends and countrymen, as well as with the approbation of the Council. But as his inquest had brought to light many infidelities and disorders in which the finances of Bengal were involved, and the Council had conceived some general suspicions even against Shytab-rây's administration, which they thought equally tainted; it was resolved that the whole country should be divided into six departments; and that over and above the respective Councillors associated hitherto to Mahmed-reza-qhan, to Shytab-rây, and to Djessaret-qhan, there should be appointed in each of the six districts, three or four gentlemen more, not Councillors, but yet of a rank next to it, by whose concurrenee business should be

A. D. 1769.

Resolution of the Board to investigate all Revenue matters to the bottom.

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(18) A gold rupee is worth sixteen silver ones of Calcutta; but those struck elsewhere are inferior in value. .

(19) Radjahs and Zemindars imply nearly the same meaning, namely, that of great land-holders.

Bengal and Bahar divided in six Governments.

carried on. Amongst these Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Palk, together, with the Chief of Azim-abad, were appointed a Council for that province; and the whole country was divided into six collections, *to wit,* Calcutta; Bardvan; Radj-shahy with Moorshood-abad; Djehan-ghir-nagar-daca; Dinadj-poor; and Azimabad.

As soon as the appointment of Mr. Vansittart to Azim-abad, as a member of that Council, became public, those that were inimical to Shytab-ráy, conceived mighty hopes from such a change; although his able conduct and his obliging management were such, that few were the men, and but few, throughout that whole province, that could find fault with his administration. Nevertheless, as it is impossible that every one of his dependants should have been like his master; or that a single man's behaviour, however equitable and just, should be of one tenor with all the world; those that were envious of his greatness, got everything ready to light up a mighty flame; in so much that he was intimidated. And although the hem of his robe was pretty free from the dirt of infidelity; and the few blemishes in it, if any at all, could not enter in comparison with his many services; yet such was his diffidence at the inconvenients that were likely to arise from a difference of nation and language, as well as from his unacquaintance with the man's character and genius, that he became somewhat doubtful of what might become of him. At last Vansittart himself arrived, when Shytab-ráy went out to meet him, as far as Fatwa; where having taken him upon his own elephant, they returned to the city together, to the no small regret of those envious of his, who sought only to raise disturbances, and had hastened to wait on Mr. Vansittart with no other view, but that of setting up a shop of chicane and malice. They were struck dumb on seing Shytab-ráy's artful behaviour. Indeed he was a man of great sense, and great honor, and not only averse himself from all acts of oppression and infidelity, but vigorously active in restraining his dependants from any thing villainous. As a great statesman, and a great accountant, he had ready every kind of paper that could be called for. Firm and steady in his behaviour and answers, he never boggled or tergiversed at all the numberless questions put to him by Mr. Vansittart, and never shewed any hesitation in affording whatever information was desired, or

whatever lights were expected. He continued to answer with so much firmness and propriety, that he never afforded him any opening by which any imputation might be fastened upon his character. No wonder if Mr. Vansittart surprised at his candour, and convinced of his fidelity, wisdom, and knowledge, should have set open for him the gates of friendship and union; nor did the Radja prove wanting to himself on such an overture. After having thoroughly cleared the path of justification, he came forth himself from the door of love and attachment; and by a respectful behaviour, and a variety of curious presents, he gained so much upon the man's mind, that the latter was thoroughly satisfied with him. After Vansittart's arrival, Mr. Alexander, who had been recalled, was succeeded by Mr. Djakul, who being likewise recalled after a short time, Mr. Barwell came in his stead. As this gentleman had a strong interest at home, and was impressed with a high opinion of his own wisdom and penetration, he did not live upon good terms with Mr. Vansittart; and to shew his own power and sufficiency, he expressed a wish that Shytab-ráy should entirely close with his measures, and give up his connections with the latter. To this Shytab-ráy answered, "That without solid grounds and strong reasons, he "could not estrange himself from his friends; and admitting," said he, "that I should do it upon your commands, what de-"pendence can you lodge in me yourself after such a proceeding?" This answer was full of fense; but Mr. Barwell, who was of a haughty and violent temper, and likewise indisposed against him, could not understand his meaning: and he not only became discontented, but remained in that mind of his until some time after the arrival of the valiant Mester Hushtin, the prop of the State, and the impetuous in war(20) This man, who in strength of genius, extent of knowledge, beauty of style, and propriety of manners, has no equal in these times; and who by his winning deportment, and the affability of his temper, has gained so much upon the inclinations of all the world, that there is no individual but finds himself beholden to him for some favour or some benefit, no sooner landed at Calcutta, by order from home, than he invited Mr. Barwell to a seat in the Committee of Calcutta, an assembly of five persons that manage and controul the affairs of

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(20) Umad-el-mulk, Mester Hushtin-bahadyr, Djeladet-djung.

all Hindostan. An order to that purport having been dispatched to that gentleman, he repaired to Calcutta, and left Mr. Vansittart sole Chief of Azim-abad, as well as President of the Council which composed the government of that place, and consisted of four men more, *to wit,* Mr. Astuvun (Stevenson), Mr. Dooroz (Mr. Droze,) Mr. Ayoun-Law, and Maharadja Shytabráy.

Charges exhibited in England, by Lord Clive's management, against Governor Vansittart.

We have left Governor Vansittart on his way to England. After his arrival in that country, his administration had become the objct of a severe inquiry. Lord Clive had taken care to make it a general topic in the Council of that kingdom. But Vansittart, (who was a man of such an extent of genius, and so much firmness of mind, that his countrymen themselves acknowledge how difficult it would be to find such another man throughout all England), took care to give such rational answers to each charge, as overthrew the accusations prepared against him, and set in an advantageous light the valuable services he had rendered to the State. Amongst all the articles of chicane exhibited against him, a principal one was this, that they imputed to him the death of the English prisoners slaughtered by Mir-cassem's order. But he soon confuted the imputation, by producing a paper written at Calcutta at the time of Mr. Amyatt's death, where the Councillors openly disclosed their minds, and importuned their Governor for a declaration of war against that Prince. He proved his having represented, "That as there were so many "English prisoners in that Prince's power, it would be proper "to make some accommodation with him at present, until the "prisoners should be released; after which it might be time to "go to war;" but the Councillors, blinded by their passion, and by the fury of their resentment, unanimously clamoured for war, and gave it under their hands, that *whether the prisoners were to be slaughtered to a man, or not, they would go to war immediately.* Vansittart, on this declaration, had consented to an immediate war; but he kept the paper carefully by him; and now he presented it open to the Council of England, and asked, whether they conceived now that the slaughter was imputable to him, or to the Members of the Council; adding, that if they had the least doubt about the matter, it would soon be cleared up by inspecting the paper. This paper in reality turned

The Governor's rational and vigorous defence.

the tide in his favour; and the members of the English Council, on seeing the contents, applauded his penetration, and conceived as much esteem for his keenness of mind, as contempt for the precipitancy of his accusers. But there was another misdemeanour which those accusers wanted to fasten upon him; and it was this: That he had forborne trading in salt on the Company's account, although he knew that such an article of trade would produce immense benefits, when exported duty-free to distant places; instead of which, he he had left in entirely to he Indians. "To this new charge Shems-ed-döwlah answered, "by acknowledging the immense benefits that might have accru-"ed from trading in salt for the Company's account; but he "added, that he had been overawed, by a variety of consider-"ations arising on that subject; and had been deterred from "the attempt, on reflecting on the various branches of trade "already enjoyed by the Company throughout the whole country. "That should it be admitted, that the inhabitants of Bengal "consisted of five kinds of men, *to wit*, servants to Govern-"ment, handicraftmen, merchants, labourers, and necessitous "people, that is, old and poor men; it would be found that the "servants of Government alone amounted to several hundred "thousands, who had no other way of subsisting than by dealing "in salt, from which article, by-the-bye, they were wholly debar-"red in the Company's own dominions. That to those myriads "must be added another multitude that have subsisted entire-"ly by trade, at a time when the Company was enjoying but a "part of the trade of Bengal, whereas now it enjoys the whole; "and another multitude of the better sort again, which being "accustomed to subsist by serving in the cavalry, had found "now that such a species of service was entirely disregarded, "and had betaken themselves to merchandising. It is then for "those multitudes", added he, "that I have left alone that branch "of trade which might afford them a livelihood; multitudes that "amount to as much again as all the people in England and in "the Company's service put together; my views having always "been, that there might remain some veil over our system, and "that every man in Bengal should not become our personal "enemy. In one word, I was fearful, lest the whole nation, "already oppressed by our traders, and by the Company's

"encroachments, might be driven to despair, on finding that our "knife has cut deep, and to the very bone. What if times are "not all of one tenor? What if a change of events should take "place? Would you choose then to have every one of those "people turn out upon you, as your sworn enemies?" This speech of Vansittart's was greatly applauded by the wise men of those parts, and they expressed their contempt of his accusers in strong terms. In fact these sentences were very pithy, and those admonitions proved full of penetration and of good sense. *And what if his adversaries had been told, that ruling and government need the assent and satisfaction of the governed; and that it was far from finding its account in the injury and ruin of the subject?*

Sensible remark on the relation subsisting between the Governors and the governed.

"If thou hast comprehended this, let me kiss thy wisdom;
"But if thou art insensible, what a pity, and what a pity!"

Mr. Vansittart having come off victorious from those accusations, become henceforward so conspicuous, that those who had the power of binding and loosing in that country, conceived that there was no man fitter for the purpose of introducing order and regularity in that distracted country, than himself. After his departure, they sent some further orders for his perusal. Misfortune would have it so, that the ship which carried him was swallowed up by the sea, in such a manner, that no intelligence and no vestige could ever be discovered of her in any part of the world. When this piece of news reached England, the wise men of thatc ountry, after a thorough examination of the case, resolved, that in such a conjuncture they had one person equal to Mr. Vansittart, and none fit to make amends for his loss, but Mr. Hushtin, who was the very man fit to be sent, and to be seated in his stead. The said Master was then Bará-sahâb or Governor of Arcat in Decan(21). They therefore made haste to send him an order to depart for Calcutta, where he was to take charge of the affairs of that county; to peruse the Company's dispatches; and likewise to attend to the instructions destined for Mr. Vansittart, which he was to put in

Governor Vansittart sent back, with honour, to Bengal: but perishes at sea.

(21) As Mahmed-aaly-qhan is only a nominal Sovereign of the province of Arcat in Decan, the people of Hindostan make no account of him, but always reckon that the Governor of Madrast or as they call it, Mendradj, or Chinnapatan, is in fact Viceroy of Arcat.

execution, in the manner which he might think convenable. At the same time they dispatched another packet to Calcutta, with injunctions to leave closed and sealed the instructions destined for Mr. Vansittart, until Mr. Hushtin himself should open and peruse them. These two orders having reached their two destinations, Mr. Hushtin went from Mendradj to Calcutta, where the packet, that is, the letter of the European Council, containing the instructions and orders, had been kept under seal; and during the three months which Mr. Cartier remained in Calcutta, he contented himself with acting only as his second in the Government; but he availed himself of those three months to spend days and nights in perusing the papers relative to past transactions, and also in meditating upon the orders and instructions brought by the said packet. At the end of that time, which probably was the term fixed for Mr. Cartier's administration, he took his post in the Governor's chair, and in a few days after, he dispatched orders for putting Mahmed-reza-qhan and Shytab-rây under arrest, and for bringing them to Calcutta. The two orders were addressed to Mr. Gram, (John Graham), Chief of Moorshood-abad, with so much secrecy that Mr. Vansittart, Chief of Azim-abad, knew nothing of them. But it is reported that Mr. Gram, who was a great friend of Mahmed-reza-qhan's, had said, that since his endeavours had failed in saving and sheltering that Minister, it was proper that Shytab-rây, who was in a similar office, and upon ill terms with Mahmed-reza-qhan, (but for whose deposition and arrest there was no order from Europe) should partake of the other's disgrace. Djon-gram, in consequence of such a management, wrote such letters to the Governor, that he obtained an order for recalling Shytab-rây also, and for putting him in confinement, as well as Mahmed-reza-qhan. God preserve the innocent from such artifices, and such partialities!

Mr. Hushtin arrives as Governor at Calcutta, and spends ninety days and nights in perusing records.

He sends an order for arresting Mahmed-reza-qhan and Shytab-rây.

Mr. Djon-gram was at supper in the house of one of his nation, when the Governor's orders directed to him, were suddenly brought in. He quitted the company sooner than usual, and repaired to his house, from whence he wrote a note to a Captain of troops; and straight this piece of intelligence was carried, I know not how, in the very words to Mahmed-reza-qhan. But he was so full of the authority which he enjoyed, that he paid no regard to

the intelligence, but recommenced another nap, with the utmost neglect and security. There remained no more than one hour of night, when the Captain with a battalion of Talingas arrived close to Nyshat-bagh, accompanied by Mr. Anderson, and he stopped at the gate. Mr. Anderson, with some servants, went into the Navvab's apartment, and after intimating the Governor's order, upon which he condoled with him, he added, that there was no intention to do him any harm, or to make him uneasy at all on any account; but that such an order had come, and must be obeyed. As Mahmed-reza-qhan had neither the heart or the power to make the least resistance, he inclined the head in token of submission, and consented to whatever was required of him. The Captain of troops, after dismissing Mahmed-reza-qhan's Talingas, placed his own in every place and every spot, as a guard, with injunctions to offer no rudeness and no opposition to any of that Minister's servants, or to any of his visitors; but only to send their Commander immediate notice, should any of these offer any resistance. They had orders also to behave respectfully to that Minister; but to hinder any thing from being carried out of the palace, and even to take care that himself should not walk in the precincts of the garden, unaccompanied. After such a regulation, a Lieutenant, (which is an officer next in rank to a Captain), was dispatched with a detachment to that Minister's Palace in town, which Palace goes by the name of N68-saqht(22), and contains the apartments of his ladies. Such Talingas of the Minister's as he had found on duty, were left as they were; but he stationed an equal number of his own men at every door and every gate, without offering, however, any injury to any one, or even putting any question to a single man. This revolution affected differently the principal persons of Moorshood-abad; and it was expected that Menny-begum, who had her mind so obscured by the dust of boldness and discontent as to wish for Mahmed-reza-qhan's disgrace, would now avail herself of so fair an opportunity to complete his ruin. But that Princess, on the contrary, had generosity enough to forbear

(22) N68-saqht signifies new-built. It is a Palace, raised and fitted in the Hindostany manner. But Nishat-bagh, or the garden of intoxicating pleasures, is an elegant seat at five miles from thence, built, furnished, and fitted in the English manner.

her pursuit, and benevolence enough to seek that Minister's release, by every means and every endeavour in her power; and she performed some manœuvres to that effect, which would have done much honor to an able man, versed in business. It is with that same steadiness, and uniformity of conduct, that she remained attached to Governor Hushtin in the sequel, when he came to be attacked by General Clavering, although it was a time of doubt and speculation. But she remained steady, without ever betraying the least weakness, or committing anything wrong. After Mahmed-reza-qhan's disgrace, she was appointed tutrix to Mubarec-ed-döwlah, and invested with the inspection and absolute direcion of whatever concerned the Nizamet or Government of Bengal; (words, which now signify no more than the household of that young Prince). To execute the detail of that office, she appointed for her Nâib, or deputy, an eunuch, who was now her servant, but who had once been a slave to the forgiven Navvab Issac-qhan. Unfortunately Itbar-aaly-qhan (*for* such was the eunuch's name) was a man of a slow comprehension, and a distorted disposition, narrow-minded, and of an unequal temper, who gave a deal of trouble and uneasiness to an infinity of people (23); and this proved the only blemish in that Princess's conduct. For although she is not of a virtuous family, nor of a noble birth, yet she is a woman of infinite merit; and her good sense, as well as her steadiness of temper, are never so remarkable, as when she has any scheme to carry forward. For whatever she has once undertaken, she never fails to perform; as she always finds some expedient to bring it to perfection. And had she brought herself to the practice of sitting behind a curtain, and of hearing herself from thence the representations of suitors, in order to determine them afterwards with her deputy, there is no doubt but the Government of Moorshood-abad, and the direction of the affairs of the Nizamet, (at least such as it is at the present day),

(23) Numbers of people, who know Itbar-aaly-qhan personally, (and the Translator is one of them), differ greatly from our Author in this portrait.

They say, that he is a man of much sense, and very extensive charity. But he has been a man in office for a number of years, and in an office which chiefly consisted in rejecting some people's requests, and in admitting others; and such a state of things cannot fail of producing much odium, and still greater envy and jealousy.

would have never been taken out of her hands. Instead of that, she gave herself up to the eunuch entirely, a man opinionated, destitute of sense, and incapable of the art of ruling. By that man's counsels she reduced both Mubarec-ed-dŏwlah, and his mother, Babboo-begum, to so low a condition, (although she herself had been bred a slave girl in the house of Babboo-begum's father), that both the mother and son came at last to be bereft of all power, and to lose all credit and consideration. But it must be confessed that Mubarec-ed-dŏwlah deserved no better usage, as we shall shortly mention, after relating some other events of more importance.

We have left Mahmed-reza-qhan under arrest, and with an English guard upon him. He was in suspense between fear and supplication, when there came a second order from the Governor to bring him down to Calcutta; and thither he was sent under the same guard, which had been already charged with him; it
.D. 1771. was in the year of the Hedjrah 1186. A vast concourse of people, whether from a principle of time-serving, or from a regard to the known adage, *the night is pregnant; what shall it bring forth to-morrow?* attended him as far as Palassy, from whence they returned; but numbers, who wanted to be beforehand with their rivals, went as far as Calcutta, from whence, on finding his affairs desperate, they returned, after a short stay. Insomuch that none remained with him, but a certain number of persons attached to him personally. Here it must be observed, that Calcutta is an immense city, not unlike the ocean; no one cares for another in the English territory; and as Mahmed-reza-qhan was now within the Company's precincts, he experienced daily a gradual diminution of that regard and those honors which had been hitherto constantly paid him. The attention to his concerns diminished every day; his answers and demands were postponed and set by; and other business taken in hand. Meanwhile Djon-gram, who was a warm friend to him, and a stranger to Shytab-rây, finding difficulties in supporting the former, contrived to involve the latter in Mahmed-reza-qhan's misfortunes (although probably there was no such order from Europe); and he managed so dexterously, as to have such an order sent to Azim-abad. But such was the obliging behaviour of the Radjah's, and such his art of conciliating the minds of

every one, and of giving satisfaction to all, that Mr. George Vansittart, to whom the order was addressed, contented himself with advising him to repair to Calcutta before such a day; and he carried his regard so far, that without informing him of the purport of his orders, he only advised him, as a friend, to take such a journey; nor did he disclose the matter to him until about the end of the month of Sefer, in the year 1186. So that there elapsed a whole month betwixt his arrest and that of Mahmed-reza-qhan's. The Radja, on the appointed day, got into his Badjara, and proceeded on his journey to Calcutta. Mr. Vansittart having appointed a company of Talingas to do him honor, gave secret orders to the Soobadar, that is, to the Commander of it, to let him proceed as far as the confines of the Government of Azim-abad, after which he was himself to embark on the same Badjara, by way of attendance; but without departing from the usual custom of paying his bow in the morning, or of shewing every mark of respect and regard, until he had carried him to Calcutta. Shytab-ráy having been in this manner conducted to that city, landed at the house which he had always used. But the detail of the answers and questions relative to these two prisoners, is not public; nor is it come to light how that affair ended. Whenever it comes out, properly attested, mention shall be made of it in the continuation of these sheets, if it pleases God.

Shytab-ráy arrested and sent to Calcutta.

After about two months more the Members of the Council of Moorshood-abad, and of Azim-abad, received an order of the Council of Calcutta, by which Radja Shytab-ráy and Mahmed-reza-qhan were declared dismissed from their respective offices of inspection over the Imperial Qhalissah, (that is, over the estimate and collection of the Imperial revenue), with injunction to those two provincial Councils, to take that business into their own hands. The next day, in the morning, Mr. Vansittart having assembled in the Imperial castle the principal men of the city, and the heads of offices, repaired himself thither, with his Council; and having retired with them into a room apart, he translated the supreme orders in Persian, and gave them to the Moonshy or Secretary, Seradj-eddin-mohamed-qhan, with orders to read them in a loud voice to the whole assembly; to which he was to explain them distinctly, article by article. The

The Council of Azim-abad appointed to take charge of the finances of that province.

purport was, "That Maharadja Shytab-ráy had been dismissed "from the office of Divan of the Imperial Revenue; and that "the Council of Azim-abad had been appointed to rule in his "stead; to whose orders, of course, the officers of that office "were to pay obedience; but that the said Maharadja having "been confirmed in his office of the management of the Nizamet, "they were therefore to acknowledge his authority in that "branch." From that period, the Members of the Council have continued in the management of the Qhalissah, or office of finances, singly, and in full authority, without the assistance of any Hindostani Nâib, or deputy: and although it is certain that, long before this period, and so early as Mir-djaafer-qhan's demise, the English had ever borne a sovereign sway in every thing, and had enjoyed full power everywhere, yet upon the whole the management of the finances was in the hands of Mahmed-reza-qhan, and of Shytab-ráy; nor was it but some years after, that is, on the arrival of Governor Hushtin in the
A. D. 1771. year 1186 of the Hedjrah, that the English gentlemen have accustomed themselves to govern without the assistance of an Hindostanee Nâib, or of any other creditable man from the natives; excepting however some clerks, and some other dependants of Mahmed-reza-qhan's and of Shytab-ráy's, which were kept as registers and detail-men, but still under the absolute controul and the sole direction of the gentlemen of the Council It is true that the English retain at Calcutta a Gentoo, who is son of D8l8b-ram, and grandson to Radja Djanki-ram, one of Aaly-verdy-qhan's Ministers; but it is only for show; and although he bears the name of Divan of the Imperial Qhalissah, he is in fact no more than a clerk to Mr. Doorreel, (Ducarel), and to every Englishman that shall be appointed real Divan or Superintendent of that office. Who knows what shall happen next? We have seen stranger things than that.

For on the beginning of the year 1195, Qhyaliram went to Calcutta, where he took a lease of the revenues of Azim-abad, partly on his own account, and the rest on account of Radja Caalyan-sing, son to Shytab-ráy; but he was hardly returned, when there arose feuds and heart-burnings between them both. In a little time Qhyaliram, and after him Sadooram, were sent into confinement, and disgraced, so as to lose all credit by

which revolution Caalyan-sing was left in the vortex of necessity and embarrassment, endeavouring in vain to collect the balances due from the districts of those two Gentoos, and from his own.

"The world is undone by the men of the world,
"The pretence is Siavush and Afrasiab(24)."

When Mahmed-reza-qhan and Shytab-ráy arrived, under a guard of English soldiers, at Calcutta, the Governor was preparing to take a journey to Moorshood-abad, in order to acquire a knowledge of the affairs of Bengal, and to put them under proper management. But first of all, in compliance with the instructions arrived from his country, he suppressed the Council of twelve that had hitherto presided over the affairs of all Bengal; and in their stead he established a Committee of five, of which himself was the head. Mr Barwell, who arrived at the end of the year, was the fourth of that Council, but at the end of a twelve month, he went home. The names of the three others I do not know. The ten or twelve former Councillors were ordered to oversee the Company's mercantile affairs, but under the controul of the Committee. Committee signifies an assembly that has full authority to bind and lose all matters, high or low, relative to this country, whether for making conquests, for waging war against obstinate Princes at the head of armies, or for making peace with those who are abandoned by fortune, and submit to their fate. All these matters, and many more of that importance, are all determined in that assembly, in such a manner as they think convenable. The Governor, after having taken these arrangements, set out in the month of the first Rabi, of the year 1186, and came by himself, or only with some Members of the Committee, to Moorshood-abad, where he spent about two months and-a-half in putting in order the affairs of the country, and in dismissing or confirming some officers and other persons who had been concerned in raising or depressing Mahmed-reza-qhan's power; after which he returned to Calcutta. He reduced the Nazem's, or Nominal Navvab's allowance, from twenty-four lacs a year to sixteen; and out of regard to Mubarec-ed-dowlah's tender age, he left the disposal of that sum to Menny-begum's discretion. It was destined to defray the

Governor Hushtin reduces the Navvab's allowance from twenty-four lacs a year to sixteen.

(24) Two ancient Kings of Persia; the first of whom in particular occasioned very bloody wars.

household expenses of the young Navvab's, as well as some articles of luxury and parade, customary with the Princes of these countries; likewise to pay a number of pensions to Mir-djaafer-qhan's relations, and to the women with whom he had cohabited, as well as to some of the descendants of Aaly-verdy-qhan; lastly, to afford some resource to a number of deserving persons, to whom much attention had always been paid by former Nazems. In the like manner, a small sum was allowed for the subsistence of some families allied to that of the young Prince's. A like sum was made up for the decayed families of Azim-abad, different from the salary allowed to the Nazem of that place, who is now Shytab-rây's son. But as this sum is not confounded in that allowed to the Nazem, it is regularly paid to the proper persons, without any charges; whereas that of Moorshood-abad being not kept distinct from the Nazem's allowance, it falls within the disposal of his officers, and of his Nâib, all men, who being changed or dismissed every second or third year, (whilst those actually in office are perpetually busy in undermining each other's dependants and friends), unavoidably become covetous, and think of nothing but of the various arts of filling their own purses, without minding the pensioners, who are always left in the lurch. For these poor people, who are numerous, and the remaining stock of the ancient nobility, being kept out of their pensions, some for sixteen and some for twenty-five months together, lose very often the whole of their arrears; it being customary to make them sign a receipt in full, under solemn promises of their being henceforward paid regularly, and afterwads to inform them that upon inquiry, it is found that the treasury is unable to discharge the balances due; but most assuredly would be put for the future upon a better footing; and the officers and clerks, having thereby got a release, fall anew in the practices of their predecessors. So that those ill-fated men, and especially the Moorshood-abad pensioners, who in these hard times have not a single resource under the canopy of the Hindostany heaven, are reduced to such miseries, as God relieve mankind from; nor do their circumstances, or the sufferings of the wretched, affect in the least either the Nazem, or his Nâib, or the Begums, or any of the men in power, or any of the officers of justice; and yet, were even that sum which

is fixed, to be distributed properly, and according to the rules of of common sense and commiseration, numbers of people would thereby get a sufficient subsistence, and pass their lives in some comfort. But such is their hard fate, that their rulers and administrators, regardless of the tears of mankind, and unmindful of the fear of God, remain entirely insensible; being themselves incapable of any sense of honour, and fearless of any danger from the publicity of the facts; whilst, in matters which cannot conduce to either their happiness in this world, or their safety in the other, they spend thousands and thousands, nay lacs and lacs, and never abate from their vanities and misdemeanours; as we shall mention shortly, if it pleases God, when we shall by-and-bye say something of their lives, although only as one would mention an unity out of a thousand, or shew a sample out of a heap. But this is enough at present upon so disagreeable a subject; let us revert to politics.

The Governor, after having finished the business which he had in mind, returned to Calcutta, and on a Tuesday, the sixth or sixteenth of the month of the second Djemady, in the year 1186, he arrived in that city, where he ordered the Committee to commence the trial of Mahmed-reza-qhan, and of Shytab-rây, in such a manner, as each of them should be carried to make his answers and questions separately, and upon alternate days. They commenced with Shytab-rây: but as this man had with him some decisive papers, and the hem of his garment was free from any dirt, as there did not subsist against him any such grave accusations, nor any such high discontents, as might spoil his affairs, (which, by-the-bye, was exactly the case of Mahmed-reza-qhan's) his trial was soon closed. His conduct proved quite free from the blemishes and false steps of which he had been suspected and accused; insomuch that after a year's conferences and discussions, he was honorably acquitted. The Governor, and all the Members of the Committee, after many excuses and much apology, shewed him every kindness imaginable; and they sent him back to his office with a letter conceived in these terms. "They confessed, that the suspicions "on Shytab-rây's fidelity, which for certain reasons had found "their way into the minds of the Committee of Calcutta and "of the supreme rulers in Europe, had proved, after a very long,

Trial of Shytab-rây, who was honourably acquitted.

"and a very exact examination, destitute of any foundation; "and that nothing had appeared from that excellent man, but "proofs of fidelity, fair attachment, and zeal. That it followed "therefore that the hard treatment he had experienced, had "been unmerited, and far from what his valuable services had "deserved." To this they added a dress of honour suitable to his rank and merits, with an elephant and a number of jewels; and he was dismissed to his former station of associate in the Council of Azim-abad. But the man had already broke his heart; accustomed these many years to the kindnesses and caresses of the English Rulers, he could not brook the ill return he had received for the many valuable services he had rendered the State. He fell into a despondent state of mind, and took a dislike against all the world, as well as against his own life. The truth is, that his predestined time being likewise at hand, a slight looseness, which chanced to come upon him on his arrival at Azim-abad, turned into a violent flux, and made him covet victuals and things he was not accustomed to. The steadiness of his mind, and his usual temper forsook him; and he henceforward made no distinction between what was hurtful, and what was beneficial to him. It is true that the learned Fáiz-aaly, (whom may this salute of mine reach at some lucky hour!) a famous physician, who in these days has not his equal at Azim-abad, had attended him some time; and there appeared evident signs of his good management having been beneficial; but there were about the sick man's person some sycophants, and illiberal men, who made it a point to represent me (who was one of Mr. Vansittart's friends), as inimical to his welfare; and at last found means to remove from his person the physician above, who then lived with me, after having represented his just reprimands, and his unfeigned zeal, together with his attachment to me, as so many proofs of hatred and enmity; insomuch that when the sick man was forced by necessity to recall him again, and he heard him strongly recommend his abstaining from the many compound medicines which ignorant persons of all sorts used to prepare in secret for him, this ill-fated man, already prisoner to death, abstained altogether from all physic, and left the whole to the course of nature. Nevertheless, in consequence of the solicitations of the Gentlemen of the Council,

And sent back to his former post; but dies of a broken heart.

who so far from being inimical to him, were sincerely desirous of his recovery, he applied to a doctor, which in English signifies a physician; but this doctor having conjectured that it was proper to evacuate and remove out of his body the impure mixture which had taken consistence in it, he gave him a purging dose, by which the sick man's stomach, already reduced to extreme debility, became weaker and weaker, and at last lost all power of digestion.

Radja Shytab-ráy, originally a Cahtri(25) by tribe, was a *Kahut-suka-sun* by race, and born at Shah djehan-abad. He was bred in the family of Semsam-ed-döwlah, son to another Semsam-ed-döwlah, better known under the name of Qhandö8rao, Lord of Lords to Mahmed-shah, and he commenced by getting into the service of one Aga-soléiman, a Georgian, who was slave and steward to Semsam-ed-döwlah, as well as every thing in his house. He had at first but a small salary; but by his abilities in business, and by his meritorious services, he soon became the centre of all business in Aga-soléiman's house, and of course the absolute ruler of Semsam-ed-döwlah's affairs. On that nobleman's repairing to the mansions of God's mercy, and on that capital's becoming a continual scene of revolutions, he concluded that there was no safety for him in those parts: and he obtained the Imperial Divanship of Azim-abad, with the management of the Djaghirs of his master's son, being the districts of Poluch and Malda in Bengal. Thus provided, he came into these eastern countries, and, as it has been already mentioned, soon raised himself to the summit of power. He was a man of great sense, a Minister knowing in business, and a clerk of a quick dispatch, keen, and full of penetration in every thing he took in hand; and he had so many other valuable qualities besides, that I always thought him the most deserving, and the ablest man amongst the most eminent men of Hindostan. Although originally a clerk and a penman, he proved that he did not want either courage or prowess upon an emergency: and although he had seen himself courted by Vezirs and by Emperors, nevertheless he had so little pride about him, that he behaved to men

Brilliant character of Shytab-ráy.

(25) The Cahtries are one of the four grand tribes or races, into which the Hindoos are divided; it is the second. The *Suca-suns* are a subdivision; and there is an infinity of subdivisions.

of virtue or of distinction with a modesty and an humility that disarmed envy itself. He comprehended at once, and at the very first outset, the intent of every one's supplication; and he used to grant it with a deal of condescension, if he had it in his power, and the subject deserved it; or else, he would offer a handsome excuse, in a condoling language; so that no petitioner ever went away from his presence, dissatisfied or discontented. Perpetually in the hurry of business, and in conference with a variety of people, from day-break till noon-day, and from the evening to three o'clock in the morning, he seemed neither fatigued with the number, nor impatiented with the singularity and extravagance of the demands endlessly crowding upon him; but would attend to every one with a regard always proportioned to the petitioner's rank, never chiding or reprimanding any one, or making use of a harsh or dishonest expression; nor did ever a word of abuse or rudeness come out of his mouth. Keen and knowing in every thing, and well apprised of the prices of all kinds of wares, he never disputed with merchants, but would give them a handsome price at once; nor would he admit stinginess or economy, whenever he wanted to make a present. Fond of living high and with elegance, he used to procure from distant, cheap places, such provisions as he wanted for his own use; endeavouring to reconcile that taste of his with the dimensions of his purse. Magnificent and generous in his household, he strove as much as his finances could afford, to live up to the grandeur, and hospitality of a middling Omrah of Hindostan. For on the very arrival of some person of distinction in town, he would send him, according to his rank and station, a number of tables covered with a variety of sweetmeats, delicacies, and dressed victuals, of which he had always quantities made with the utmost nicety and attention. In the entertainments and feasts which he used often to give, he always imitated the splendidness and the customs of the Moghuls(26); and when at table, he used to invite his

(26) Although the Moghul, that is the Hindostany, way of living is so very inferior to an European table, both for the variety and costliness of the victuals, and for the expensiveness of liquors and other articles, yet such as it is, it is incomparably superior to the Hindoo or Gentoo way of living; the very Radjahs and Kings of that persuasion living with such an abstemiousness as would frighten out of their holes, all the hermits of Europe.

guests with the utmost politeness and courtesy to taste of such and such particular delicacies. But his modesty and sense of decorum were such, that no man, not even his nearest relations, have ever seen him repair to the apartments of a woman, called Ram-dji, of whom he was very fond, and to whom he shewed a constant attachment; nor could any one say at what particular time he repaired into the inner apartments of his women, nor when he came out. His consort, a person of his own tribe, from whom he had his two sons, Calyan-sing and Bagvaany-sing, he kept no conections with this longwhile; but he entertained her at a small distance from his own palace, in a house expressly built for her use; and thither he repaired two or three times in the year, at those stated times prescribed by the Gentoo law, but in such a secret manner, however, that his visits were very seldom known to any one. His behaviour to some persons inimical to his welfare, was no less singular. These having found access to some Englishman in office, for instance, to the Chiet of Azim-abad, had grown so jealous of his greatness, that when they came to be complimented with some concern in the Company's affairs, or with some other advantage, they had in a course of years so far estranged themselves from him, as to express their enmity in every thing in their power; and with such a conduct he used to put up. But the moment a change of times had taken place, or any disgrace had happened to them, which might endanger their honor or their fortune, he from that moment forgot the past, and flew to their assistance with all his might and influence; from that moment, he turned his own breast into a shield and buckler for them, and would exert himself so strenuously, as often to rescue them from perdition. Whenever he heard of any one come from Shah-djehan-abad, he used to send for him, and if he happened to be of his acquaintance, and in distress, he never failed to relieve him in the best manner he could afford; but as his own salary was small, and not exceeding what had been appointed; and he did not choose to lay a finger upon any thing belonging to the Government; he contrived to give him a pension; and when he found it inadequate, and could not afford to give a better one, he used to employ him abroad in the collections of the revenue, in such a manner as he might benefit by the employment. But when matters did not succeed to his

mind, even in this manner, his method was then to send for the person, and after having excused himself in a rational manner, he ended his apology by making him a handsome present, over and above a sufficient sum to carry him back; and he always finished his compliment by dismissing him with politeness and regret. Sheh-sherif-eddin-mohammed, a descendant of the Protomartyr, Sheh-sâid-mohammed, (whose station may God exalt to a higher one!) was an aged, learned, pious man, and one of the principal citizens of(27) Nedjef-eshreff (the nobility and holiness of which spot may God augment!) who, urged by necessity, and by the distress into which he had fallen, through some accident, had conceived a design of repairing to India, on hearing of the opulence of the country, and of the rich presents made, and the high regard paid by the Grandees of that land to the officers and servants of the sublime places, and to those that had lived in, or had visited, the holy cities; (and indeed such was the custom in India when the Empire was yet in its lustre). In these hopes he arrived in Hoogly, in his eightieth year, and for a full year made a shift to live in that city and in Moorshood-abad; but although both the Nazem of Bengal, as well as his Naib or lieutenant(28), were men of much wealth and power, both Mussulmen, and both served by dependants rich and opulent, yet no one took sufficient notice of his circumstances; so that the venerable old man resolved to try his fortune elsewere; and he set out for A8d and Lucnow, the capitals of Shudjah-ed-döwlah's dominions, as well as for Ilah-abad, then the capital and residence of the Emperor Shah-aalem. On his way thither he arrived at Azim-abad, where having had myself the honor to pay him a visit, I procured the same advantage to Radja Shytab-ráy. This Minister, on his first hearing of that venerable man's arrival, and circumstances, got into his paleky, and altho' a Gentoo, he left at the door his retinue and insignia, and went in only with one

(27) Nedjef-eshreff signifies the holy spot above the waters. In fact, it is a spot always free from the inundations of the Forat, or Euphrates, whereon Aaly, the cousin and son-in-law of Mahomet, is entombed. Hence the city of C8fah itself bears no other name than that of Nedjeff-eshreff. This spot as well as Kerbella, near Bagdad, where Hosséin, son to Aaly, is entombed, is always designed by the words, *the sublime places*; for it is only Mecca, the glorious, and Medina, the illuminated, that are designed by the words, *holy cities*.

(28) Mubarec-ed-döwlah, and his deputy, Mahmed-reza-qhan.

or two servants, and no other company than Mir-cavam-eddin-qhan. He made his bow with the utmost modesty and respect, and whatever instances were made by the holy man for his taking his seat upon a mesned, which he had provided for the purpose, he constantly declined sitting upon it, but took his place in a corner of the carpet, whereon the old man was sitting; and after having spent a full hour in his company, and obtained his acceptance of an entertainment, he withdrew with a respectful posture. In the evening, which was the time appointed, he ordered to be spread for him a superb mesned, used by himfelf only on festival days, and then took his seat upon a small white carpet, forbidding all his people to intrude upon hin during the whole visit. The holy man having set out with me after the evening prayers, was met by the Radja, in the very middle of the yard, where having paid him a profound bow, he took him by the hand, and conducted him to the mesned spread for him, and there entertained him in such an humble, pious manner, that the Sheh, highly satisfied, could not help expressing himself in these words: "I wish, sir, that God had given also to the Mussulmen of this "land, a part of those good qualities which He has bestowed "upon you." As he spoke Arabick, the Radja did not understand him, and I served as interpreter. The Radja returned thanks for the compliment, and observed how little he deserved it; and on his departure, he presented him with two tables covered with fine stuffs, such as paired shawls(29), kimqhabs(30), choice clothes and other rich gifts. Out of respect to him, he thought it improper to bring any money in his presence; but after his departure, and when the Sheh was arrived with me in his company, to the house of the forgiven Zehir-hosséin-qhan, he sent after him, by the hands of a trusty servant, a bag of a thousand rupees, which the bearer put secretly in my hand, and which I presented in a respectful manner to the holy, hoary man.

Once there came at Azim-abad a person well known to Shytab-ráy, but also a friend and a favourite of the Prime

(29) Shawls (a delicate, costly stuff, now well known in England) are sold as well as presented in couples.

(30) Kimqhabs are silk stuffs, sprinkled over with gold and silver flowers. The best come from G8djrat; for there is a manufacture of them at Banaress, which although worked and inspected by G8djraties, nevertheless affords stuffs inferior in quality, as well as in liveliness and colour.

Minister Nakur-mul, Divan of the Imperial Qhalissah of Hindostan, who resided in Shah-djehan-abad, a man accustomed to go upon a par with Vezirs and Omrahs. This person came from Shah-djehan-abad, for the purpose of performing the ceremony of the Gáyah(31), a rite which the Gentoos perform for their departed parents, and which is for them a divine institution, so obligatory, that without it, they do not believe that the departed soul can be saved. On his asking, at his departure, a letter of recommendation for Radja Shytab-ráy, Nakur-mul answered: "Maharadja Shytab-ráy is one of your acquaintances, as well as "myself, nor is he void of civility and good manners; and as we "Gentoos have the performance of the above rite in high vener-"tion, and hold it highly meritorious, doubtless he will not fail "to oblige you. As for the letter you request of me, it may "perhaps be of disservice to you. What, if my self-love does "not bear to write to him in a style suitable to the station and "rank he now enjoys there? And what, if his self-love would "not bear a style answerable to the station and rank he once "held here? He now rubs his forehead against the third heaven; "and the perusal of my letter would spoil your business." It must be observed, that Radja Shytab-ráy, in imitation of the most attentive and most sensible Grandees of Hindostan, used to spend great sums of money in getting intelligence about every Sovereign and every Governor of that region, allowing those in the secret of affairs, monthly, and yearly pensions; and keeping for that purpose in every Court an agent, who committed to writing, without addition or retrenchment, every transaction, and every speech, worthy of record; regularly transmitting the same to other agents, stationed for receiving such intelligence. No wonder then, if Shytab-ráy, being so well served, this speech of Nakur-mul's had been faithfully conveyed to him, in the very words that had been used. On the first interview, therefore, with the person in question, he contented himself with saying to him: "Sir, that a person like you should come from so far; and "that His Excellency the Prime Minister should have not wrote "me two lines on your behalf, looks very strange, and is of bad

(31) Gáyah is a town at three or four days south of Azim-abad or Patna. It is a place of great resort for the Hindoos, who go thither in pilgrimage from all parts of India.

"omen for you." The person answered, that as himself had the honour to be of Shytab-ráy's acquaintance, there was no need of a letter; for as the Prime Minister is a sensible man, he has understood that the Maharadja (my Lord), that is Shytab-ráy, was already informed of the intention. Not so, sir, replied Shytab-ráy, not so. Then, rejoined the man, your Lordship is well informed of the whole matter; and if that be the case, there is no necessity for your putting any questions about it. Shytab-ráy's friends, such as Radja Qhy-aaly-ram, and Mir-cavam-eddin-hosséin-qhan, who were present, understood not a word in the above enigma, but thought it improper to put any questions in the new guest's presence; however, after he was departed, they asked what was the meaning of all that mysterious dialogue? Shytab-ráy recited the intelligence he had received, and the very words of the speech, and then expressed himself in this manner: *I hope to be up with him, if it pleases God*; words which had a reference to what he knew himself, but which no one could comprehend; still less could any one guess what he meant by that expression of his; nor what he could do to one who would not meddle with him. When the person in question came to be upon his departure, Shytab-ráy made him a suitable present, and put in his hands a letter for Nakur-mul, couched in a very respectful and very humble style; although he had no manner of expectations from that quarter, and stood in no need of any service from that Minister. It was to this purport: "The letter you have "honored me with has been an object of pride and consolation "for me. It is hoped, from the good nature of your Excellency's "character, that you shall vouchsafe to gladden by a small token "of your good will, the hearts of those your petitioners, that are "doomed to live at such a distance from you." And to this letter he added a curious present, to the amount of ten or twelve thousand rupees, or even more; consisting of Atur of Aagur(32),

(32) The Agalla-wood, called Aagur in India, and Ud by the Turks, Persians, and Arabs, yields, especially at the knotty parts, a rosin, from which they extract an essence highly scented, and so dear as to sell even in Bengal for twenty-five times its weight in silver. Some even prefer that essence to that of roses; and in Hindostan, whither it is imported from Bengal, it sells full as dear: that is, twice or thrice its weight in gold. This tree, which is now found only in the Peninsula beyond the Ganges, and in those parts of Bengal that border on it, is exceedingly scarce, and is hardly found, but when the rains and floods have torne it from its place,

or Agalla-wood; delicate cotton-linen, manufactured only in Bengal, and such as is hardly to be procured elsewhere; bed-stead feet, of Ivory; watches and clocks, made in Europe; lustres and sconces, of a glass that emulated rock-crystal; looking-glasses, of great dimensions; and a variety of curiosities from Europe and China, all which he entrusted to the above person. But the latter sent them beforehand to Shah-djehan-abad, as he had come to perform his pilgrimage at Gáyah. Nakur-mul, on hearing of the words uttered by Shytab-ráy, and of the manner, equally noble and delicate, in which he had acted, was lost in amazement; "and said: This gentleman has acted with so much sense and "nobility, that he has given me a lesson from afar, and has totally "covered me with shame and confusion."

But it was in the famine of 1183, that this singular man had a full opportunity of exhibiting his character in the most advantageous light. This famine desolated the whole country of Bahar, as well as the whole kingdom of Bengal. Shytab-ráy, melted by the sufferings of the people, provided in a handsome manner for the necessities of the poor, of the decrepit, the old, and the distressed; and here is the method which he contrived for that purpose. In that dreadful year, when famine and mortality, going hand in hand, stalked everywhere, mowing down mankind by thousands; Shytab-ráy, who heard that the grain was a little cheaper, and in greater plenty, at Banares, set apart a sum of thirty thousand rupees, and directed that the boats and rowers belonging to his household should bring regularly to Azim-abad, three times a month, the grain provided with that sum at Banáres. This grain being landed at Azim-abad, was sold at the Banares-price, whilst the boats were dispatched for another trip; by which management there were always boats landing and boats loading. In this manner, during the whole time which the famine lasted, his numerous boats, divided in three squadrons, were constantly employed in bringing corn, which his people sold at the original price, without loading it with the charges, losses, and transport; and it was purchased by the

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and left it sticking on the muddy shores. Those that have been in the case of making use of Shishem or Seesoo-wood for common fuel, and have attended to the sameness of smell, will be very much inclined to suspect that the Augur-tree must be nothing else but some Seesoo-tree, grown very old,

necessitous, who flocked to his granaries from all parts. But as there were still vast numbers that could not afford to purchase grain so dear(33), he ordered them to be divided into four classes, which were lodged in three or four gardens, or seats, surrounded by walls, where they were watched, as prisoners, by guards, but daily attended as patients by a number of clerks, who kept an account of them, and were assisted by a number of servants, who at stated times used to come loaded with victuals ready dressed for the Mussulmen, and with a variety of grain and pulse and a sufficiency of earthen vessels, and of firewood, for the Gentoos; at the same time, several ass-loads of small money, besides a quantity of opium, bang, tobacco, and a variety of other such articles, were distributed severally to each person, according to the kind he was accustomed to use; and this happened every day, and without fail. On the report of such generosity, the English and Dutch took the hint, and on his example, lodged the poor in several enclosures, where they were regularly fed, tended, and lodged. In this manner an immense multitude came to be rescued from the jaws of imminent death. But in Moorshood-abad, such a proceeding never came into any one's head; and it is reported, that although Mahmed-reza-qhan had been appointed Inspector of that branch of Police, grain was often not to be had at any rate; for such men as

(33) Rice sells in general at Azim-abad at the rate of 120 pounds avoirdupois for a rupee, that is, for twenty-two pence English; wheat at 150: barley at 200; and Djevar, or African millet, as well as some other grains, at 300. Hence, when grain sells at thirty or forty pounds, as it did in 1769-70, it becomes so dear that the generality of people cannot afford to pay for it. The carelessness and inattention of the Indians, (to say nothing of their ingratitude, that bane of the nation) are such, that although in that famine thousands of necessitous people were daily fed at Calcutta, by several charitable English, who had clubbed together for that purpose; although in the year 1784, a daily distribution of wheat was ordered at Azim-abad by Governor Hastings, at his private expense: although the same year Mr. John Wombwell, and some other English of Lucknow, had rescued from the jaws of imminent death, to my certain knowledge, more than two thousand people, whom they used to feed every day for six months together; nevertheless, not one man amongst the natives, at either Calcutta, Patna, or Lucknow, ever mentioned it in conversation, although I put the question to several hundred of the better sort, and have been endlessly inquiring from amongst the poor. So that to this day these three events are as unknown amongst the natives of Bengal, and as little minded or talked of, as the five or six scores of English smothered at Calcutta in 1756, or the three or four hundred massacred at Patna in 1764.

Mir-soléiman-qhan, and some others like him, who had been appointed overseers of the poor, proved so intent on their own interest, that so far from being able to procure plenty of grain, they were the foremost to use violent methods to engross it(34). Whenever any loaded boat chanced to come escorted to the market by the Government people, the grain was dragged away with force by some one of the favourites of Mahmed-reza-qhan's, and carried to their own houses. Numbers of them were guilty of such practices, especially Radja Amret-sing, who gave himself all the airs of a sweetheart of his master's and made nothing of wresting a boat-load of grain out of the hands of a number of famished wretches who had thrown themselves upon it(35). Nor

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(34) It is not improper to mention here Naamet-ollah-qhan, amongst the servants of Mahmed-reza-qhan's who engrossed the sale of rice. This man, who was a menial servant of Mir-djaafer-qhan's, and is now steward to Mahmed-reza-qhan, is reputed worth eighteen lacs; but he was an acquaintance of the Author's.

(35) There is no nation in the world so defective in common sense, as the Indians, whenever they have a distribution to make to the poor. Look at that man who has to-day proclaimed a distribution of grain and cloth for Tuesday next. This man, by his senseless distribution, will cause twenty murders, and rather more than less; for I remember of a Gentoo, who about ten years ago, was the innocent, but thoughtless, cause of seventy men being trampled to death, although I informed him of a method I had myself practised to prevent disorders, and offered to preside at the distribution. A couple of hundred stout fakirs, with knotty bamboos in their hands, take possession of the house-yard, and murder or maim, or trample to death, those famished children, those impotent old women, those decrepit old men, those blind and lame, that cannot stand upon their legs. In the famine of 1784 or 85, the Navvab of Lucknow distributed five thousand rupees a day; that is, killed about fifty impotent people every morning, regularly for three months together, and, in his own words, put an end to the famine—add, by diminishing the number of mouths. A man of sense, who was very nearly smothered by the crowd, and who would have never extricated himself had he not been vigorously supported by the show of a brace of empty pistols, and by the exertions of a dozen of vigorous servants, presented a petition the next morning to that Prince, on what he had been seeing these six days; and proposed to lessen the price of grain by full fifty per cent. in five days, on condition only, that he was preposed to the distribution, not of money, but of grain and dressed victuals; and on condition, that three preparatory steps were taken immediately; *to wit*,—

'Sending forthwith fourteen hundred elephants, with five thousand of their tattendants into the woods of Mahmedi, five days journey north of Lucknow: " Seventy elephants only to be kept near the Prince's person.

"Dismissing immediately towards Banares, with each three months pay before-" hand, the fifteen hundred men that attended three hundred thousand pigeons, "Appointing a number of cooks to roast or boil every day five thousand of those

did any one trouble himself about these practices, or about securing the grain, or getting it sold at a reasonable price; or about executing strict justice against those engrossers; and matters rose at last to such a height, that this neglect came in the end to cut a considerable figure amongst the articles of accusation urged against Mahmed-reza-qhan, by the Committee. But let us drop those matters; doubtless they are better known to the Almighty Scrutiniser of hearts; for our part is now to continue our account of Shytab-rây's way of life.

He used every year to purchase large quantities of fresh fruits of Iran(36) from the merchants, and to send them in presents to the principal English, and to the Grandees of Bengal. Besides that, he had it in custom, two or three times a year, to compliment with such delicacies, all the persons of Azim-abad, that seemed of distinction, whether by their rank, or by their merit or virtue; and as he found that still some people were forgotten, and had no share in the distribution, he betook himself to this expedient: Over and above the sum of money yearly spent for his own use, he set apart another sum, which he used to lend to the fruit-merchants, who were to employ it in fruit, to be sold publicly in their shops. So that any one might become a purchaser; and whatever remained unsold, he took it off their hands in part of payment; by which management neither the merchant became a sufferer, nor did the public

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"pigeons, to be distributed to so many famished wretches, disposed properly by "classes"

On these conditions, the petitioner, without having recourse to any breaking of shops, and magazines, or to any compulsion, offered to forfeit his head, if grain, which was to be had nowhere, was not within five days sold in many shops, and in a month, at full eight or ten seers, instead of three or four seers. (that is, eight pounds avoirdupois) which small quantity nothing could fetch now but gold, secrecy, and interest. The petition was laughed at, as being that of a man that had no common sense. And no wonder if it was. For meanwhile His Highness with his five thousand rupees a day, had brought plenty in three months time: and this was, by killing, or which is the same, by suffering to be trampled to death ten or twelve thousand wretches; and at the end of those three months, the rain fell plentifully, and grain sold at six and seven seers in the markets.

The man had promised, and that too upon his head, that the first day of the distribution of victuals, there would be no more than fifteen murders; the second, six; the third, four; the fifth, one, the sixth, none; and so on to the end of the famine.

(36) Persia.

Shytab-ráy introduces the culture of musk-melons, and of grapes, at Patna.

want for fruit. Not satisfied with that, he, by dint of money, engaged some fruit-gardeners, amongst those that either cultivated fruit-trees or dealt in fruit, to quit their abodes at Shah-djehan-abad and at Lahor, and to settle at Azim-abad, where he, lent them capitals, sufficient to put it in their power to cultivate such fruit-trees as the climate would bear, and such as could afford an object of trade. As a further encouragement, he used yearly to make them presents of seeds, which he procured from Lucknow, from Agrah, and from Cabul(37), especially of musk-melons, serdas(38), and other fruits; and so soon as they had produced a crop, he purchased that product, and distributed it in presents. At last grapes of a good size and complete maturity, as figs, and several other fruits, came to be in fashion at Azim-abad, and to be sold from one seer and-a-half to two and three seers(39) to a rupee; insomuch that those rarities are now to be had, not only in gardens of distinction, but even in the shops of the city.

Shytab-ráy a Mussulman in his heart, and moreover a fanatical Shyah.

After having spoke so much of Shytab-ráy's generosity and industry, it is proper we should say something of his religious principles. He was fond of the notions and practices of a Mussulman of sense(40); for he went into deep and respectful

(37) Cab8l is a fortress and a province of India, the last towards Persia; it is renowned, even in that Empire, for the superior flavour of its fruits. Pears, apples, quinces, and admirable pomegranates, come from thence to the interior parts of India, but especially grapes of two inches in length, and exceedingly luscious. All that comes overland, over a tract of four or five hundred leagues, to Azim-abad; but then it amounts to such a price, that a single grape sells at Lucknow for a penny English; pears, apples, and pomegranates for half a crown the couple. From Lucknow they are sent to Calcutta, in presents, by the post

(38) Serdas are a longish sort of musk-melons, that have the rind, yellow, and the pulp green, on the contrary of the ordinary musk-melons, which have the rind green or yellow, and the pulp of a saffron or golden hue. Some of both species are admirable. But people must go to Persia, and to Constantinople, to eat those fruits in the greatest perfection. As to grapes, properly speaking, besides their being excessively scarce in Bengal, as well as in Bahar, they very seldom come to maturity in either of those countries; because in the months of May, June, and July, when the grain has acquired its full growth, and wants only the benefit of much sunshine to mellow its juices, there fall such floods of rain, and the weather is so constantly cloudy, that no ameliation can be expected. In Lucknow, where rains fall only in July, the grapes grow to maturity.

(39) The seer weighs about thirty-two ounces avoirdupois.

(40) A Mussulman of sense, in our author's opinion, is a Shyah, that is, a man who gives to Aaly the titles of Sole Rightful Successor, and of King of Braves—The two Princes of Martyrs are, that same Aaly, called the *M8rteza*, or

mourning for the Prince of Martyrs, (on whom be peace for ever!) and the twenty-first of the holy month, which is the day of the martyrdom of the Prince of Martyrs and successors, Aaly the M8rtesa (*whose eulogiums may for ever be upon the increase!*) he used to order quantities of rice boiled in milk, and other sweetmeats and victuals, to be prepared with the utmost nicety and cleanliness; and these he distributed throughout the city, after having offered a prayer over them. In turning himself from side to side, he had in general the invocation of *Ya Aaly*, (O Aaly)(41) in his mouth; nor was he at any time heard to pronounce the name of any of the Gentoo Saints. His usual oath was *Wallah*, and *Billah*(42). Once every year he used to spread the table of the King of Braves (on whom be peace!) and that too with the utmost cleanliness and elegance; and after the prayer of the Fateha, pronounced according to custom over it, the whole was distributed away. One day some one said, that before the distribution should have taken place, it would have been proper to wait for the appearance of *the sign* on some of the salt-cellars, or on some of the dishes upon the tables. "This, said he, is an essential condition, and does "the Maharadja neglect the same?" Shytab-ráy answer-"ed, that such an appearance, being a deviation from the "natural order of things, is what cannot be asked from, nor "granted by, the King of Holiness(43); nor does it become a

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agreeable, because he was the only man living whose name was mentioned in the Coran, besides Mohammed, who is called *Mustepha*, or the select. The second Protomartyr is Hosséin, the second son of Aaly, who is buried at Kerbela, near Bagdad. Nor is it to be wondered at, that Gentoos or Hindoos should slide into the practices and customs of Mussulmen, especially if they be showy or affecting, as are the theatrical rites of the Muharrem. Man, when not persecuted, naturally becomes imitative and apish; and hence we see every day in India, Mussulmen insensibly sliding into the practices of Hindoo customs, rites, and festivals, as well as Gentoos turning Mussulmen, and especially Shyahs, by shoals.

(41) No Shyah, in making any effort to raise a weight, or otherwise, will ever say *Ya Qhoda!* O God! The invocation is always *Ya Aaly*!

(42) O God! By God! This is the usual oath of a Mussulman; but in judiciary matters it is amplified in this manner: *Vallahil Aazim! O Billahil kerim!* By the Most High God and by the Most Bountiful God! The usual invocation of Gentoos is, *Ya Bagvan! Ya Permesser!* two attributes of God, in the Shanscrit language, which is the Latin of India.

(43) The King of Holiness is Aaly.

"poor Pagan like me," added he, "to request a miracle for such "a matter. As I have in His Majesty such a faith as I ought, why "should I wait for such an exhibition(44)? On the other hand, "no body has a right to lay his commands on His Majesty in "such matters; and supposing, that for want of precaution and "requisite cleanliness, or for some lack of sufficient respect, the "sign should not make its appearance, then a door would be "set open for pouring abuse and reproach upon poor me, who "am but a Gentoo, and would become exposed to the taunts of "those who know not *the interior of my thoughts*, and who in "that case would not fail to say: Look at that presumptuous "Pagan! He to expect a sign of approbation from the King "of Braves! as if he had had the honor to be one of the "Believers(45)!"

Once he was going to receive General Asmeet (Smith) at Bar; and it happened that his tents were pitched behind a temple of Idols(46), in a spot of ground used by all comers. In the morning, as he intended to go forward, his paleky was set ready at the door of his tent, close to which his servants and retinue having formed a long line that extended afar, waited for the moment of making their bow. At that moment I walked in, and a little after came out again in his company; when the Brahmans, who served that temple of Idols, availing themselves of the opportunity, advanced in a body(47), at the moment of his getting into his paleky, and made their demand; "observing, that this "spot was consecrated to *Mahadêo*; and as to-day was full "moon, and a lucky day, they hoped he would pay some regard

(44) Look for these miraculous signs, at the Note 171, first Volume, Section III.

(45) The Shyahs know no Believers amongst Mussulmen, but their ownselves; and hence they call themselves Moom'niuin.

(46) This is one of those atrocious lies, begotten by ignorance and fanaticism, against Gentoos or Hindoos, and like so many others propagated against Mahometism. If there be a people that have the sublimest notions of the Deity, it must be the Gentoos. But these are not only permitted, but enjoined, to turn themselves in their prayers towards the sun, towards the fire, towards the elements, and also towards simulachres, as so many emblems of the Divinity, which serve the purpose of fixing the mind, and of keeping the imagination from wandering. Thus a rick of grain, or even a bushel of meal, is a very good emblem of the Deity; and a man to keep himself recollected may fix his eyes thereon during his prayer.

(47) The Brahmans, on the contrary of all Indians, never salute any one with an inclination of the body or head, but God. All others are saluted only with the

"also to their circumstances." Shytab-ráy answered, that they ought to make their request to whoever had come in pilgrimage to this place, or to offer his prayer at this altar. *As for me,* added he, *I have no business with either your persons or temple.* This said, he got in his paleky, and pursued his journey, without giving them any thing at all, although he was far from wanting sentiments of generosity. For it was often observed, that when Gentoo mendicants applied to him, he would not give them even a farthing; whereas when any Mussulman asked him alms, in the name of His Majesty, the Commander of the Faithful, or of his children, or of his descendants, straight he would give them one rupee. It was reported by people of worth and credit, who were always near his person, that in his many journeys to Calcutta and to Bengal, where the sight is everywhere assaulted by idol temples, some of his friends, who were zealous in their worship, proposed to him to visit those places; but he constantly excused himself, although he would give them one hundred and two hundred rupees at a time to visit them themselves, desiring them to do it also in his behalf, and to fulfil the usual rites in his name. On his finishing a magnificent palace for his residence, his Gentoo friends proposed that he should consecrate it, by giving the Brahmans a repast in it. He answered, that they would sully, and spoil his house, and fill it with dirt; and that if it were necessary to feed them, they were welcome to take his money, and to entertain them upon the strand, on the shores of the Ganga.

At the time of that famine, which did so much havoc, and which was distinguished by so great a scarcity of rain, some of his Gentoo friends, such as Moorly-dur and Káy-kituldas, and Surd-sing, whom he consented to humour, prevailed upon him,

lips, the body remaining erect, and the palms of the hand being turned upwards towards Heaven, as if to pray for him, or to give him their blessings; this also being the posture taken in praying to God. Mahade8, or the great Saint, is, according to some Gentoos, the first man., but as these people never know but the bark of their religion, and on the other hand, the sacerdotal tribe, who know better, would rather suffer death than reveal their tenets, we had as well believe other Gentoos, who report, that Mahade8 is a name given to the destructive power of God; and possibly is it on that account that he is represented with a chaplet of twenty or thirty human heads hanging from his neck; he has also a large vertical eye in the middle of his forehead; and the Ganges is seen to issue from his hair, made up in a bundle on the top of his head.

to go with them to a Brahman, who was highly respected by the Gentoos, on account of his learning and the holiness of his life. The Brahman, who thought himself much honoured by the Radja's visit, used often to repair to him, with a view to increase his faith in his person, and also to conciliate his good will. One day he was heard to say to Shytab-rấy, "My Lord, we have "made choice of a name for you, according to your horoscope; "accept it, and use it in telling your beads over." *I have,* answered Shytab-rấy, *made my choice already, and it is one from the one thousand and-one names of God*(48); *and that is enough for me.* Pray what is it, added the Brahman? The Radja would not disclose it; the Brahman became urgent; and he was answered, that it was God's holy name, *it is Rahim* (merciful). On this the Brahman, guessing at his meaning, and desirous to soothe his mind, replied, "My Lord, *Ram*(49), as well as *Rahim*, are equally the name of the same Eternal One." *I ask your pardon,* replied the Radja, *there is a difference betwixt them;* and on the Brahman's enquiring, the Radja answered, that the *word Ram always reminded him of Dusrut, his father, whereas the name of Allah, implied neiher filiation nor paternity.* From such, and the like expressions mentioned above, as well as from the whole tenor of his deportment, it appears, that his belief was not consonant to the tenets of the Gentoos, and that in his heart, he was a Mussulman; but this is known only to Him, who views intuitively the minds of men, and sees the innermost secrets of their hearts(50).

He was not so cautious in other parts of his behaviour. Fond of obliging and gratifying his friends and acquaintances,

(48) The names of the attributes of God, are to the number of a thousand and one; but the Mussulman Rozaries being only of a hundred and one grains, people content themselves with repeating only a hundred and one upon their beads; for instance, O Almighty! O Immense! O Supreme! O Assister! O Cherisher! &c.

(49) Ram is not only the name of a Legislator of India, (and observe that he is always represented blue, or black, with an Ægyptian flute in his hand, and an Ægyptian cap on his head), but it is also the name of one of the ten Incarnations of the Deity upon earth.

(50) It is notorious that Shytab-rấy, although a Gentoo, and of one of the highest tribes, was in his heart a Mussulman, and moreover a fanatical Shyah; and as notorious, that his two sons, although circumcised and bred in Mahometism, have a strong bias towards Gentilism, and indeed live like superstitious Gentoos. But Gentilism admits of no proselytes.

he was so careful of his character, that he compassed his end, without committing any infidelities in the management of the public money, from which, he abstained religiously; but as his salary, and personal income, fell so very short of his expenses; and he was often in the necessity of bestowing sums of money on some Englishmen, recommended by the rulers of that nation, and likewise of supplying the difference betwixt his income and his expenses; he made use of two methods, equally improper, and iniquitous, to fill the chasm. The first was, that in matters of *Atlac*, (which word signifies the sending one or two constables for compelling payment of sums due to the treasury), he used to send them by whole dozens at a time; and as the debtors are always obliged to find these people in diet-money, he used to enter but a small part of it in the books of public receipt, and to keep the remainder, as a supply for his liberalities. His second method was no less iniquitous. He used to bring under contribution, the possessors of Djaghirs, Altumgas, and other freeholds, by telling them, that such an Englishman wanted to see their charters and vouchers; and when he had once got them in his possession, (and this was always in that Englishman's name) he used to put those vouchers in the hands of one of his own dependants, or heads of office, who, without any possible reason or justice, would exact from each incumbent or possessor, a sum of money proportionable to his income. After this he got together all those contributions, which amounted to a large sum, and bestowed them on the Englishman that had been recommended to him. In this manner, he seemed wholly occupied by the thoughts of keeping the individuals of that nation in good humour; but without ever minding the Divine resentment, in an affair of so much consequence. Doubtless, it is on such sorts of men, that historians have made such severe remarks; and it is such men as these which Sheh-saady, of Shyraz, had in view, in his G8listan(51), when he says, "That "whenever any one forgets himself so far as to postpone the "Creator's service, to that of the creature's, it happens soon

Iniquitous methods used by Shytab-ráy, to support his expenses.

(51) The Golistan is a book of Persian poetry, translated into Latin, by Angelus Politianus. It is made up of a number of sentences, stories, apologues, and apophthegms; all enforcing, in beautiful verses, every moral duty. Even children know it by heart.

"or late that God Almighty sets that very creature on him, so "as to cut off the root of his well-being." An observation which has been but too visibly verified in Shytab-râÿ's case, who to oblige those that had hoodwinked their hearts, and shut up their ears and eyes against God's eternal justice, made no scruple of vexing and oppressing His creatures. It is from those very persons, whom he wanted to keep in good humour, that his ruin took its origin at last, and as it was under pretence of *Atlacs*, that is, of letting loose a number of exactors, that he ransacked, tormented, and ruined such a number of innocent, deserving men, so it was by falling himself in the miseries of such an *Atlac* or looseness, that he lost the garment of his existence, and was forced to set out for the other world, where no one, but the Searcher of all Secrets, can know what may now be his fate; although nothing is more certain than what we read in the Holy Writ, where we find *that His forgiveness is always greater than our demerits.*

Radja Shitab-râÿ was hardly arrived at Azim-abad, when Governor Hushtin resolved to go to Banaress, to meet Shudjah-ed-döwlah. The fifteenth of the second Reby he was arrived at Moorshood-abad; and at the end of that month, or at the A. D. 1773. beginning of the first Djemady, in the year 1187 of the Hedjrah, he was arrived at Azym-abad, where he proposed to Shytab-râÿ to accompany him in his journey. But this Minister, who was now on the wing for the regions of eternity, excused himself upon the ill state of health under which he really laboured, and did not accept the proposal. The Governor, after a stay of two days, pursued his journey to Banaress, where he met Shudjah-ed-döwlah, who was come thither also to see him, and where he finished the business for which he had come so far; and it was there likewise that the new Zemindar, Radja Chéyt-sing, son to Radja Bulvant-sing, which latter departed this life a little time before, had his first interview with Shudjah-ed-döwlah, by the Governor's mediation; who having firmly established him in his Zemindary of Banaress, took his leave, and returned to Azym-abad, a little time after Radja Shytab-râÿ had departed this world. It was about the middle of the second Djemady, in the same year.

Although this man's principles, as well as those of his sons, were much more consonant to the Mussulman religion, than to

the Gentoo tenets, yet for fear of disobliging his relations and kindred, and also out of regard to some other considerations, his body was burnt to ashes, in compliance with the Gentoo custom. The Governor, to shew that he entertained no disinclination to the deceased, and to prove that he retained no suspicion against his fidelity, took care, of his own motion, to bestow the father's office on his son, Radja Calyan-sing; although the latter did not shew that capacity and fitness which might have been expected from a man of his age and education. He confirmed likewise to him his father's salary and his Djaghirs; and he also increased the pension allowed to his mother, relict of Radja Shytab-ráy. But at the same time he suppressed the twenty-five thousand rupees a month, hitherto allowed for the charges of the Nizamet, and which were in his father's disposal. Instead of that, he fixed such a sum of money as he thought proper, and directed, that it should be managed henceforward, wholly by the Council. And having further made some additions and some retrenchments in the several pensions paid by Government, (which last he appointed to be disbursed by the Council and by the Qhalissah office) he set out in all haste for Calcutta, it being his custom to dispatch much business in the least time possible.

Mahmed-reza-qhan forsaken by every one, in his confinement at Calcutta; but supported by Aaly-hibrahim-qhan.

Mahmed-reza-qhan meanwhile, under all the terrors of arrest and confinement, was in continual alarms, and in great distress of mind. He was friendless, and without an adviser; deserted likewise by most of his men of business, to whose treason indeed he had afforded some pretence by his former carelessness, and his neglect of their welfare. The Divan or Minister of his heart, Amret-sing, was a young man of unequal temper, proud of his wealth, averse to men of honour or penetration, hating cordially whoever pretended to any thing like fidelity and scrupulousness, and withal destitute himself of that capacity requisite in those matters properly of his resort; such as examining papers, and auditing accounts. On the other hand, every one, tired this longwhile with Mahmed-reza-qhan's haughtiness, as well as exasperated at the violence of his temper, and at his abusive language, went his own way, glad to have got so easy a riddance. Nay Amret-sing himself, that darling of his heart, under a feint of disclosing some secret which he

knew, obtained a full clearance and acquittal from his doating master(52); and he retired to enjoy his own ease in a house which he took in Calcutta. Not one at that time thought of Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, who, however unacquainted with the records and papers relative to past transactions; however uninformed in matters concerning the revenue and collections; however unapprised of the accusations brought against Mahmed-reza-qhan; however almost a stanger to him; resolved to come to his assistance; and without having ever benefited any thing by Mahmed-reza-qhan's full power and influence, he paid so much regard to his misfortune and to the very name of friend, that he tucked up the hem of exertion and zeal, into the zone of activity and vigour; and having in a little time acquired a full knowledge of all the papers, records, and transactions, relative to his friend's affair, he undertook to answer all the accusations stated against him, and to act as his advocate in the whole circle of questions and answers. Resolved to make of his own breast a buckler against all the shafts of those times, he took

(52) Mahmed-reza-qhan was confined in an elegant villa at Chitpoor, which although a suburb of Calcutta, and full of seats and gardens, is four miles from the Old Fort, the centre of that city; whereas Amret-sing took a house in town. But as our author is hinting, in more than one place, at the nature of the intimacy that subsisted between Amret-sing and his master, and this hinting has a reference to the morals and customs of those times; nothing will give so thorough an insight into the strange genius that reigned in those days, as a peep into a scene that happened two years before that period, in the Palace. And here it must be observed that Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, who by-the-bye was suspected of some heterodoxy in love matters, was by tribe a *Shek*, the feminine of which in the Hindostany language, is *Shekani*, as the feminine of *Maha-radja* (the honorific title of Amret-sing) is *Maha-rani*. One day Aaly-hibrahim-qhan coming into the hall with a large bundle of papers, which he wanted to get signed, found fault with Mahmed-reza-qhan's closet-door, which remained fast shut up; the Divan or Prime Minister Amret-sing, who was a youth delicately beautiful, being within, with another bundle of papers. At last the young Divan came out and took his seat close to the Qhan, but without taking the least notice of him. The latter, who by this time was fully dosed with impatience and peevishness, turned towards the Divan with an officious air, and a soothing tone of voice, and *come*, said he, *come Maha-rani, come my Lady; your Ladyship seems to be flushed, and much out of breath. Pray, my Lady, do take this pillow, and repose yourself. Shall I send for an ewre and some water to wash your Ladyship's face?* "Mistress Shehanny," answered the other, "you had better keep your ewer and water to yourself; nor do forget you "may have occasion for both before it is midnight." To render this answer more caustic, this was said in a fawning, feminine tone of voice.

upon himself to stand out in his name, and to refute and repell all the accusations set up by the Committee, or proposed by the Governor; which last, however, has not his equal in the fairness and equity of his questions, and in the uprightness of his management. He answered every one of the accusations set up by Nand-comar, who was a shrewd, powerful man, deeply versed in business, informed of every secret, and a sworn enemy to Mahmed-reza-qhan. He set at nought the whole of that man's influence, and stood alone against all his machinations, artifices, and revengeful temper. It is reported to this day, that his answers, as if by enchantment and by some hidden charm, had the power of soothing his enemies, and of pleasing the by-standers, who astonished at his solutions, and reasonings, were lost in amazement, and had no other faculty left, but that of applauding, admiring, and assenting. It was that able man, who both by his pen and tongue secured Mahmed-reza-qhan from the hands of his accusers, and put it in his power to receive a full clearance from the Council. This event happened the 25th of the first Raby, in the year 1187; and in the next month, he A. D. 1773. obtained a dismission of the guards that had been set upon him, as well as of those that were upon his palaces at Moorshood-abad. Nevertheless the latter, even after that release, thought proper to tarry a longwhile at Calcutta, on the hopes, that like Shytab-ray, he would be restored to his station, and again appointed associate to the Council in the provincial department of Moorshood-abad, nay of the whole kingdom; an office which in fact would have invested him with the chief direction of affairs, and rendered him the main hinge of all transactions in revenue matters. Full of these notions, it is not surprising he should be prone to lend a willing ear to the sycophants of Calcutta, and to the dependants of some Englishmen, who daily fed him with crude reports, and idle expressions, with which they ever kept him in spirits; and from whence he always fancied, he foresaw a completion of his wishes. As for instance, " such a Lord(53) to-day " said so, at his breakfast,—and such another said so, yesterday, " at his dinner,—and such an one has received such an intelligence

(53) The English, from the highest to the lowest, are not designed in Bengal by any other word than that of *Sahab*, which signifies both Lord, Master, and Gentleman.

"from home,—and such a Gentleman has heard such a Member, "say."—It is upon such, and the like intelligences, that Mahmed-reza-qhan was conceiving mighty hopes from the influence of his friends; it is such bablers he took to be his well-wishers; and it was upon their advice, he bestowed beforehand large sums of money to several persons, for their future assistance in his designs. Not contented with that, he promised vast sums more, on his being restored to his former station and rank; and it was in this manner he accumulated on his shoulders an immense load of debts and charges, by borrowing on all hands at Calcutta. I was then arrived in that city myself, where, under the impulse of a pious desire, I was making preparations for my visiting happily the forbidden House of God(54), and the Tomb of the Prince of Men, (on which be peace!) and it was in such circumstances I happened to make a small request, which was refused, although so small a service would not have cost Mahmed-reza-qhan a single farthing; nor would it have caused the least detriment to his affairs, or to those of any other. It was no more than this:—To order the Overseer of his Djaghiry-lands to take charge also of mine, and to discharge from the product, the amount of the debt I had incurred by borrowing from a banker, with injunctions not to leave during my absence, in the tenant's

(54) The forbidden House of God is that square house or room, built of large blue stones, in the open air, and in the middle of the inner area or yard of the great temple of Mecca, by which it is surrounded everywhere at about thirty yards distance. It may be thirty feet high, upon a length and breadth of about twenty or twenty-five. This square house or *Caaba* is the place to which the Mahometans resort to make their pilgrimages, that is, to change their lives, and to become better. It is called *Haram* or forbidden, because all men are forbidden to approach it, and even to look at it, unless they have undergone certain conditions and purifications; the first of which is, to put on the Ehram or winding sheet, to be dead for three days, and then to resuscite in order to recommence a new life.—But even to enter the outer temple, all these conditions are rigorously required.—It is for that same reason that Seraglios are called *Harams*, and *Haram-seras* all over the Mahometan world. Hence that word is often translated here by that of *Sanctuary*, a place which none can presume to enter, without certain conditions. Hence also the small house of *Aishá* (the Messenger's favourite consort), which contains Mahomet's tomb, and is itself surrounded by the great temple of *Medina the illuminated*, is also called *Haram;* and when joined in speech with the temple of *Mecca the glorious*, which last is ten days south of Medina, they are both called by the Arabian *Dual*, famous all over the Mahometan world, *Hareméin-sheriféin*, the two noble and holy places, (or things), forbidden.

hand, the overplus of my rents, or my growing revenues; but to collect the whole regularly, and to keep it in store against my return. He was also requested to interpose between my banker and me, so far as to afford me time to sell my furniture, and to liquidate his debt before my departure, with the product of the sale. All that would have cost him but one word, and that one word was refused. I was then necessitated to tarry fifteen or twenty days more at Calcutta, in which interval I had frequent opportunities of being in Mahmed-reza-qhan's company, indeed almost every day; and I always heard him mention Aaly-hibrahim-qhan's name with the highest encomiums, and the warmest expressions of gratitude. He used often to say in my hearing, "That were he to spend his whole life in serving that "beneficent man, he would still fall short of the return he "deserved for the animated zeal he had shewn in his disgrace, "and the infinite services he had rendered him; but that with "God's blessing he would do so and so."—Nor did he address him, or mention his name, without the respectful word *Kybla*(55), and my *Kybla*; and he often added in my presence and that of many others, these very words:—*Those that had gained lacs in my service, and owe me the very bread upon which they now live, have abandoned, and deserted me in the day of need, and have left me alone; nor has any one been of any use to me in the day of trial, nor am I under the least obligatian to a single one of them, save to Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, my Kybla, that benefactor of mine, who has bought and acquired every once of me. No father, and no brother, would have served me with so much zeal, nor done what this man has done.* These were his words; nor did he speak in that strain once or twice, but in every company, and at every turn, he would be rehearsing that worthy friend's praises, and extolling his services. All this while he was in expectation, that some better prospects would open to his view; when there arrived three men at Calcutta, who had authority to act both on the part of the King, and on the part of the Company, as Directors of all the transactions of the Committee, and as enquirers into the Governor's conduct and that

(55) The Kybla is that part of the horizon towards which one prays by law. Hence Mecca is the Kybla of Mahometans, and Jerusalem, of Jews, as it has been of the Christians for several hundred years together.

of Mr. Barwell's. These were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis. They were to examine what those two men had done, although those two men had been at the same time confirmed in their stations. This happened about the
A. D. 1774. middle of Shaaban, in the year 1189.

SECTION XIII.

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As the three new comers were linked and knit together, they formed a compact body, which being invested with both the King's and the Company's authority, carried a mighty weight, especially when they set up an inquiry into the conduct and principles of the Governor Hushtin, a man against whom they seemed to have formed a confederacy. General Clavering was

a man of distinction in that country, and a King's servant; Colonel Monson expected to have the command-in-chief of all the troops, whenever the General should succeed to the chair of Governor; and Mr. Francis aimed at the next rank after the General's. As these three men acted in concert, they bore a mighty sway, made an immense noise, and caused a great disturbance. It was observed, that in receiving visits, they constantly refused the nuzurs presented them in compliance with a custom peculiar to India, and that they returned untouched, even presents of fruits. Their method in their inquiries was to attach to their interests, people whom they found in opposition to the Governor, or who had some discontent against his person. Amongst these Nand-comar cut a conspicuous figure. He had been this longwhile out of office, and lived neglected and forgotten, so early as the times of Governor Vansittart and Lord Clive; nor had Governor Hushtin taken greater notice of him. This man went to General Clavering, and to the others of his party, by whom he was received with honor and regard; and it was by his management, that numbers of covetous, ambitious men, fond of trouble and dissensions, joined the three Members, on the prospect of being put in office; and they commenced informers in the enquiry set up about the Governor's administration and secrets Such a conduct having produced a rent and disunion amongst the five Members that composed that Council, the mutual aversion was carried so far, that the partisans of either side became as animated as their principals and soon extended their principles and animosity throughout the whole kingdom. The fury of both parties rose to such a pitch, that a duel ensued between the General and Mr. Barwell, who fought together with pistols, as is the custom of that nation. One of the two parties consisted of Mr Barwell, which last continued to have but one mind and one heart with the Governor; whilst, on the other hand, the General was colsely linked with the two others. But as these last always agreed in opinion, and stood as three to two, the General's party prevailed almost every day, and almost every public business came to be transacted by his dictate. It was in consequence of this prevalence of the General's that an Englishman, named Goran (Goring), was made Chief of Moorshood-abad, as was Mr. Sage of Azim-abad,

A duel between the General and Mr. Barwell.

and Mr. Fouck of Banares, as well as Mr. Bristow of Aood and Lucknow. These were promoted on the General's recommendation; and it was by the same dictate that Mubarec-ed-dŏwlah, who with his mother, Babboo-begum, had fared so hard under Menny-begum's rod, was now emancipated on Mr. Goran's advice, who acted totally under the General's nod. That Prince was left at liberty to dispose of the affairs of the Nizamet, that is, of his own household. It was in the year 1189. Thus these two persons got out of Menny-begum's grasp, and out of the reach of her eunuch, Aitbar-aaly-qhan. But what did they gain by the eunuch's being turned out of his office? Menny-begum continued to sway every thing. For as she had a great deal of money, a great deal of authority, and a great deal of genius; and Mubarec-ed-dŏwlah, who was used to her sway, expected one day to become heir to her vast wealth, she would sometimes frighten him into compliance, by threatening to sqander her riches amongst the poor, or to leave them to strangers and Frenghees (Europeans). In fact Mubarec-ed-dŏwlah's turn of mind, and his particular temper are such, that neither his resentment is an object of fear, nor his good will an object worth seeking; nor does he himself seem to have a turn for the affairs of this world, so as that people should become anxious about his opinion. Every one, therefore, in his household does as he likes; nor is he inclined to meddle with any one's doings. Let him have his personal pension(56), and he cares not for the rest. For these reasons Menny-begum's sway is not likely to be at an end yet; and the affairs of the Nizamet, (and this word signifies now no more than his private household) are in a state of perpetual fluctuation. It was in this same year 1189 that Mir-mahmed-hosséin-fazyl(57), a man of great subtility of mind and great extent of knowledge, took a journey to the country of England in company with Mr. Elliott, an Englishman of much goodness of heart, much uprightness, and great liberality of principles. His intention was to acquire knowledge, to see the world, and to inquire into those discoveries which the learned of those parts

A.D. 1775-76.

A learned Hindostanee travels to Europe.

(56) The pension paid him by the English treasury is of sixteen lacs, or a hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling. About eight thousand rupees per month, out of that sum, may be reckoned his personal pension, or privy purse.

(57) This word signifies the learned.

had made in the science of astronomy, in the choice of simple medicines, and the art of compound ones; in the qualities of plants, and the functions of heavenly bodies. In these studies he spent his time in his sojourn, which was a short one; but in which he found means to acquire a variety of knowledge in some arts, especially in that of translating books relative to those sciences, in dissecting bodies, and in such like acquisitions. On his being returned to Moorshood-abad, in the year 1192, he gave the principal men of that city notice of the acquisitions he had brought with him; but found no favour with a set of Grandees who did not value the opportunity. Nor did any one of them think of setting apart a small sum for this business, which would have published their generosity to the world, insured to his character a lasting life with posterity, and handed down their names to the recording page of history. Instead of that, all that store of knowledge has remained shut up from the world for ever. But there is no assistance, and no success but from God Almighty(58). It must be acknowledged, however, that men's minds were then engrossed by the dissensions in the Council, and by the fate of Governor Hushtin. This man, who has been endowed by nature with a keen penetrating genius, and a superior intelligence; and whose wisdom, in matters of State and in politics, has not been equalled in this age by any one, did not think it consistent with his dignity to dispute upon small matters; and having thought it decent to adopt a system of difference, he resolved, first of all, to clear himself of the accusations brought against him, and of the infidelities and misdemeanours he was suspected of; and then to expose to publicity the General's ignorance, together with the grossness of his behaviour and the precipitancy and violence of his temper. He intended afterwards to bring to condign punishment those short-sighted accusers, that had raised such a disturbance in the country, and especially Nand-comar, that man of a wicked disposition, and an infamous character, who had made himself their leader and director. He expected that after having provided for all these matters, and quelled the commotion excited by the General's party, the General himself would become an easy object. With this view he spent a deal of time in confuting the accusations brought against him by that

(58) A passage of the Coran.

officer on the instigation of Nand-comar and his followers; and he thoroughly justified his own conduct by exposing the falsehoods of his adversaries. But whilst he was exposing to publicity Nand-comar's infamies, and giving proofs of most them, or indeed of all, it came out that this man used to forge bills of exchange under the hands and seals of eminent men; and that after having imitated their seals exactly, he kept them at home, ready at all times for manufacturing, as occasion required, bills of exchange and bonds in any one's name and hand, to be hereafter produced at his pleasure; by which iniquitous practice, he used to keep every one in awe of his displeasure. Amongst these pieces of his manufactury he had forged an obligation bond in favour of Bolakidas, a banker, at all times of much credit, but who had acquired a great name in Mir-cassem-qhan's time. He had presented it to the Company's cash-keeper, and had received the full amount, which he had kept to himself. To enquire into so heinous an offence, and to discern the punishment due by law, it became necessary to have a Grand-jury. A Grand-jury signifies an assembly of twelve creditable Englishmen, chosen by lot, which the culprit may recuse one after another, so far as to get them changed two different times, if he should object to them all; but at the third time he ceases to exercise the right of recusing any of them; and they remain twelve in number. Their duty is to examine what is to be his punishment(59); but till they have found out this punishment, they cannot be spoken to by any one, lest they might be influenced to swerve from the dictates of justice and equity. This Grand-jury was made up over and over, and twice changed (the Court of Justice at that time being full of people), until it was proved and determined that Nand-comar was guilty and deserved death; and that his kind of punition ought to be hanging. He was a man of a wicked disposition and a haughty temper, envious to a high degree, and upon bad terms with the greatest part of mankind, although he had conferred favours on two or three men, and was firm in his attachments. The moment he perceived that any one had ceased to pay him his court for a few days, either out of sickness, or because he wanted nothing from him, that instant

(59) All this translation is very obscure; but so is the text; and I have made it a point in this part especially to adhere strictly to it.

he became his enmy; nor did he give himself any rest until he had run him down, and demolished him totally. At last he met with what he deserved; and his supplice took place. It is observable that as the General had given him strong assurances that none should ever hurt him, and that were he even to be carried to the foot of the gallows, he never would have any thing to fear, provided he exerted himself strenuously in bringing to light the Governor's misdemeanours, that man predestinated to death, never ceased both out of firmness of temper, and out of hatred to the Governor, to accumulate accusations against him, without ever minding how exposed he was himself to an attack. That man, advised and instigated by the General, and become bolder and bolder, had of late set up a number of new accusations against the Governor; and in the violence of his wickedness and malice he had never minded that he was left alone, and had remained exposed to an attack. The Governor having refuted all his imputations, brought proofs of Nand-comar's great misdemeanours and crimes; and this affair made so much noise, that questions and answers of these two men were written down in the English language and character; and the whole being bound up together in the form of a book, was sent to England, from which such vast number of copies were drawn out, that this subject is become famous and an object of much curiosity in that nation. Nevertheless the General's protection having proved of no avail against a crime that had been fully ascertained, Nand-comar underwent his sentence in the manner statued; and on the seventeenth of Djemady, of the year one thousand one hundred and eighty-nine, he was drawn up and hanged by the neck. His money and effects were registered, and then delivered to his son, Radja Goordass. They say that the whole amounted to fifty-two lacs in money, and full as much more in effects and other property in his possession. Amongst other strange things found in his house, there came out a small casket containing the forged seals of a number persons of distinction. In consequence of this discovery, his malicious arts were dragged to open light, and they met with what they well deserved.

Nand-comar executed.

His immense property.

This trial which occupied the attention of the public, did not divert it intirely from the manœuvres of Mahmed-reza-qhan.

This man who has a great deal of hastiness as well as inconstance in his composition, no sooner observed the prevalence of General Clavering's party, than he conceived a desire of joining him. Such a step was vigorously opposed by Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, in whose temper, prudence and foresight seem to predominate. This nobleman used often to say: "Let us go on as "we have hitherto been going. The Governor has certainly "saved your life and honor. Without forgetting such benefits, "and becoming ungrateful of such favours, let us wait and see "what will become of the two parties. If the Governor holds "out, he shall think himself obliged by your firmness of temper, "and the steadiness of your friendship and attachment to him; "and he shall find means enough to promote your welfare in a "manner adequate to your rank; and should the General become "absolute, he will not for that bear you any grudge; for you "have not done him any wrong, nor have you misbehaved to "him; nor have you done any thing to render him your enemy. "It is even probable, that pleased with the steadiness of your "temper, he shall use you in a manner suitable to your rank "and station." This discourse was unquestionably full of sense; but it was more than could be digested by the proud mind of Mahmed-reza-qhan, who is naturally opinionated in his temper; and who swelled with the remembrance of that degree of power and authority, which accidents of chance had once thrown into his hands, looks upon the predictions of provident men as so many reflections upon his own prudence. Mahmed-reza-qhan not choosing to pay a regard to the Qhan's advice, opened a correspondence with the General, and with his adherents, and shewed a desire of attaching himself to his party. Such a step could not but displease the Governor, who however said nothing, and let him go his ways; meanwhile the General recommended him to the office ot Deputy of Mubarec-ed-dŏwlah in the Ñizamet, that is, in the disposal of that Prince's household; and also to the general Fodjdary, which in these days means the preservation of the country from highway-men and house-breakers, and the power of pronouncing final judgment upon the crimes of house-breaking, thieving, murder, and fornication. He added to this a large salary, and prevailed upon the Council to invest him in those offices by a splendid dress of honor, to which were added

Mahmed-reza-qhan joins the General's party.

Sober and righteous advice of Aaly-hibrahim-qhan to him.

several others for his children and dependants. After so much success, Mahmed-reza-qhan set out, on the 15th of Ramazan, 1189; and in a few days he arrived at Moorshood-abad, the second of Shevval, where he applied himself closely to the business of his office. And as it appears that the inhabitants of that great city, accustomed to him long ago, shewed themselves submissive to his authority, he on his side pleased with a return of good fortune, took care to display broad open the standard of authority and command. On the tenth of Zilhidj of that same year, he married his eldest daughter to Mahmed-zeky-qhan, son to his elder brother, Mahmed-hosséin-qhan; and his eldest son, Behram-djung, to the eldest daughter of Hadji Ismâil; the two spouses being both children of Rabia-begum's two daughters. But the satisfaction of the two families was damped by the death of Rabia-begum herself, who was daughter to Hadji Ahmed, and consort to Ata-ollah-qhan. She departed this life the 23rd of Djemady, in the year 1189; and by her death she deprived Mahmed-reza-qhan of the only remaining stock by which he held to the family of Aaly-verdy-qhan, the majestuous in war. This Princess, although famous for her vices and debauches, had likewise many good qualities. Long ago she had repented of her past life, and in her last sickness, she had renewed her repentance, had taken witnesses of it, and in her last moments, she had not ceased, in the presence of a number of persons, to pronounce the fine words(60), which implied her firm belief in the unity of God, and in the ministry of the seal of Prophets, both tenets qualified by a real confession of his successors. She departed her life in full repentance of her past conduct, and in the full invocation of the Divine forgiveness. *O Lord! should you punish her for her misdeeds, you*

Edifying death of Rabia-begum, the last remaining descendant of Aaly-verdy-qhan's family.

(60) The fine words are these: *There is no God but God, and Mohammed is His Messenger.* These words which constitute the Mussulman profession of faith, are revealed in the Coran. To these the Shyahs have added, some hundred years after, *And Aaly is the holy of God and the heir of the Messenger of God*: and it is this profession of faith, which by engrossing the affections of those men, has introduced that blasphemous saying, so common in Persia, and that has found its way even into India: *Eghér aaly Qhodâ n'ist, ez Qhodâ hem djoda n'ist.* If Aaly be not God, he is not very different from God neither. Nay, there is a particular sect amongst the Shyahs that openly attribute Divinity to Aaly; and these are called *Nas'eries*, and moreover take a pride it that appellation.

have that right; she is your bond-woman, and your culprit. And should you forgive her, you would not be inconsistent; for You are the Most Merciful of the merciful(61).

A violent earthquake.

It was in the same year that we were frightened in Bengal by an earthquake. It was so violent, that nothing equal to it can be remembered these forty or fifty years past. It happened on the 27th of Shevval, in the same year that Mahmed-reza-qhan conferred the Divanship of the Nizamet to Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, who had laid him under such a load of essential services and obligations. At the same time, he sent Lieutenants of his Fodjdary office all over Bengal; for instance, Nezer-baki-beg, of Balqh, was appointed to the Lieutenancy of Azim-abad; a man who comported himself with so much moderation and benignity, as to render his person equally agreeable to the English gentlemen, and to the nobles and people of those parts. He even acquired such a good character, that no complaint was ever preferred against him. So careful was he that no injury and no harm should be offered to the people entrusted to his care. It was remarked on this occasion, that Mahmed-reza-qhan, having this year offered some rudeness to many of Mubarec-ed-döwlah's favourites, and disobliged that Prince greatly; the latter so far from affording them assistance and protection, did not even forbid such an incroachment upon his own independence. The Deputy dismissed likewise Qhadum-aaly-qhan, a nobleman in many respects resembling his father, Qhadum-hosséin-qhan, and who after the eunuch Aitbar-aaly-qhan's dismission, had for somewhile acted as absolute Director of Mubarec-ed-döwlah's household. Mahmed-reza-qhan, who had taken umbrage at his influence, had cavalierly dismissed him from his office, without his master's having even attempted to utter a single word in his behalf; although there were promises enough and conventions, and much attachment between the master and the Minister. Mahmed-reza-qhan was likewise guilty of some other stresses of authority, which drew upon him a general blame. It must be observed that the times were now become so corrupt, that every man in Mubarec-ed-döwlah's household was addicted to infidelity and malversation, and had it in custom to reckon as fair booty every rupee which he could

(61) An Arabick passage of the Coran, always used in the office of the dead.

embezzle out of his charge. So much liberty could not please Aaly-hibrahim-qhan's reserve and strictness, who being a stranger to the family, would neither plunder himself, nor suffer any others to plunder. This gave a general offence; and people turned Mahmed-reza-qhan's mind so effectually, that those infinite obligations which he had so often acknowledged, slipt out of his memory; and at last a breach took place between them. And as originally there was but little resemblance or similarity between their respective tempers, the instigations of envy were sown in a favourable soil, and soon gew up to a great head, so as soon to effect a lasting breach.

"The candle where the wick smokes yet will easily catch fire again."

It was at first a sort of vague insinuations against that honoured Qhan, which being often mentioned amongst his dependants, soon took an air of complaint, and at last degenerated into formal reproaches. Mahmed-reza-qhan was often heard to use these, and the like expressions: "Gentlemen, I have no "genius for making verses; nor do I roll my turbant, or wear my "clothes as the Hindostanies, that I may pretend to enter into "any comparison with them with regard to genius and taste." All these expressions glanced at Aaly-hibrahim-qhan's way of living. Indeed it must be acknowledged that this noble person has received the gift of making his turbant, and of wearing his clothes, with a taste and an elegance (62) peculiar to himself; and in that he has been endowed by nature with a felicity of genius, and an amenity of manners that render him the admiration of the high as well as the low. One of his many talents is the faculty of uttering often extempore verses; and as Mahmed-reza-qhan acknowledges himself destitute of those talents, it

(62) Had the author seen his friend at Banares with bracelets at his wrists; his feet, toes, and nails, dyed in red, and his hands stained in saffron; his eye-lashes and brows, and his hair and whiskers, painted black; a very tight páy-djama or long-drawers, as tight as any worn by women, with intent to express every part of their bodies; his hair cut in bobri, like a petit maitre; in a word, affecting all the little artifices which are objected to even a youth of twenty, and which surely must look glaringly odd in a man of seventy; had our author seen all that scenery, he would have not taken so many pains to tell us that Mahmed-reza-qhan, in order to turn one of his dependants out of office, had betaken himself to the expedient of engaging him, first of all, into an intrigue with a rich sister-in-law of his, and thereby dishonouring the contriver's family, as a step unavoidably necessary, before he could with safety proceed on the intended dismission.

follows of course that the equality of temper and the elegance of action and speech, so conspicuous in the Qhan, were taken up as a matter of indirect reproach upon himself. He broke forth at last, and dismissed him from his office. It happened at that time that Banny-begum, third daughter of Rabia-begum, and a woman of a vicious life and shameful inclinations, having in imitation of the great folks of Hindostan, formed into a band, some of her slave girls, joined to a number of other loose women, which she had taken in her pay, she got them instructed in the arts of dancing and singing, and often amused herself with their performances. This woman, who was of a shrewd and intriguing turn of mind, undertook to seduce Aaly-hibrahim-qhan; so that she laid a snare to bring him into disrepute. Under pretence of making him some return for the obligations under which he had laid Mahmed-reza-qhan, her brother-in-law, she adopted him for her brother, and as she was not restrained by those scruples which always have their weight with women accustomed to live veiled and immured; and she had never made any difficulty of shewing herself to most people, unveiled(63); she commenced giving entertainments to Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, and appearing always in his presence, and that too unveiled. As there were always in these entertainments some particular favourites of Mahmed-reza qhan's, as fully envious of that nobleman's reputation, as their master himself, every thing was straight reported to him; and matters went no further for a time;

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(63) These veils which have eight feet in length and four in breadth, are always of the thinnest malmal, or of some gauze-like stuff, elegantly edged with a thin lace, and lined at the edge with a piece of coloured taffety, four fingers broad. Some of them, made of silk, do not weigh above two ounces. These veils are placed upon the head by the middle of their length, so as that the taffety and gold edging should fall on the forehead; and to prevent the flaps from hanging to the ground, they are carelessly thrown over the shoulder; by which management the whole body as far as below the middle, is covered with that thin ornament, as well as part of the face; and were the Ladies in Europe to know what a bewitching effect that covering is apt to have upon an elegant shape (and this kind of beauty with a gentle face, is quite common in India), they would never be without it.—However the *appearing*, whether veiled or not, before a man, is of more importance than Europeans would be apt to believe. According the Hindostany notions, such a condescendence implies or concedes every other complaisance. Hence the Indian expression *Oosce Retee-he*, she stands to him, does not fly from him; that is, she is upon the most familiar terms with him.

when the Princess observing that one of her girls had made an impression on the Qhan's heart, offered her to him, adding that she was a girl of her's, and that she made him a present of her person. The other guests, as well as the favourites of that artful woman, who were all of the complot against the Qhan, having observed scruples in him, made it a point to encourage his timidity. "What harm is in that?" said they. "Is not the "girl her property? Her mistress transfers it to you. What can "be then the cause of so much precaution and so many denials?" It must be observed that in those days Moorshood-abad wore very much the appearance of one of Loth's towns(64); and it is still pretty much the same to-day, few people caring to look at their honour, or at that of others. Nay, the wealthy and powerful having set apart sums of money for these sorts of amours, used to shew the way, and to entrap and seduce the unwary, the poor, and the feeble; and as the proverb says: *So is the King, so becomes his people;* these amours got into fashion. Doubtless some poor and virtuous people must have preserved vestiges of modesty, and must have resisted the general corruption of manners; but most of the Grandees and rich men, on whom you could cast your eyes, were enslaved by this vice.

"Every hem on which I could thrust my hand, proved soiled with dirt.
"Do you see that lofty mountain yonder? Behind it is a desert plain."

Although the Qhan was a man of great sense, and naturally averse to such kinds of intrigues, yet he lent a willing ear to the devil's suggestions, that enemy of mankind; and on the

(64) This very severe observation of our author's against the city of Moorshood-abad, is the more extraordinary, as there is a man of sense and observation who, after having lived seventeen years consecutively in that city, avers, that although the crime of non-conformism is neither punished by the Magistrate in that country, nor pointed out with that detestation with which it is hooted in Europe; and although apparent *Rari Nantes in gurgite vasto,* nevertheless the *Rari Nantes* are known and pointed out; which proves that the crime is not so common as some have been apt to think, who have thoughtlessly compared that city to Naples. Indeed excepted amongst foreigners, such as Persians and Tartars, it is hardly heard of amongst Indians in general, and especially amongst Gentoos. But such an apology could not be made for the city of Shah-djehan-abad where the author was born, nor for those of Azim-abad, Lucknow, and Patna, where he had spent so much of his time. The former of those cities is notoriously known to have contained Seraglios in the style of that which accompanied Trajan in his expedition in Persia; and the other two cities are known to contain houses of prostitution of such a nature as would make an Englishman shudder

intreaties of the Princess, he sent (at least so it is reported) two or three times for the girl, on her mistress's repeated intreaties, or at least, they imputed that foible to him. This was soon known, and soon was laid hold of, as a sufficient cause for a breach. The Navvab parted with him; and in public Derbar, or in full Court, he drew up narratives of that proceeding, as having dishonoured his house and family, and rent the veil that covered their chastity; although in reality such a publication tended only to dishonour it still further; but he had his motives in that. For he was fearful, lest the English should find fault with him for parting, on so easy terms, with a man to whom he confessedly owed the highest obligations. This at least is what occurs to feeble minds like mine: for otherwise such a conduct is incomprehensible. Be it as it will, the Navvab having introduced the subject more than once at his levee, and always with a deal of acrimony, he at last (this was the 16th Sufur, in the year 1191) dismissed Aaly-hibrahim-qhan from his office; and the same day he carried his eldest son, Behram-djung to the palace, and got him installed in that office by Mubarec-ed-dówlah, who honoured him with a rich dress of honour, called Qhyiaat. Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, on this intelligence, which he received with a deal of ease and tranquillity, retired to a corner of his house, and from that time intirely abstained from going to Court or making visits. But notwithstanding that retreat, such was the opinion entertained of his probity and disinterestedness, that although his revenue was but small, and his usual temper seemed altered by his disgrace, yet he lived in the utmost honor and estimation; and the public opinion on his account ran so strong, that his house became a rendezvous for the high and low.

It was in those times of Mahmed-reza-qhan's prevalence, that his favourite, Séyd-mahmed-qhan, a Persian by birth, but a man shrewd and wary to a high degree, who had got such an ascendant over his master, as to govern him intirely, married one of the relicts of Rezy-eddin-mahmed-qhan, and got by that means possession of his estate. The matter came to pass in a pretty strange manner. It appears that Rezy-eddin-mahmed-qhan, intending many years ago to perform a pilgrimage to the glorious Mecca, had given him a paper by which he appointed him his executor in his absence; and that although the testator

Some strictures on Séyd mahmed-qhan, a favourite of Mahmed-reza qhan's.

had long ago altered his resolution, and many years had elapsed since that transaction, he had departed this life without minding the paper. He left a great estate in money and jewels, with a very noble palace, and a fine bath. After his decease Séyd-mahmed-qhan, armed with that paper, which had been all this while forgotten in his hands, took possession of the deceased's estate, brought his wives and son under his controul, and some time after, he managed so dexterously, and interposed the mediation of so many proper persons, that he espoused one of the deceased's consorts, but a different one from the lady that had a son (altho' still the person most beloved of the deceased's three consorts, and likewise the person which proved the richest in money and precious effects). He bound her by the formality of a marriage, and took possession of both her charms and wealth. But this marriage became so very odious to the public, and it excited such a detestation in all ranks against the word *executor*, that Sadr-el-hac-qhan, the first Magistrate of the Province, being then upon his death-bed; and his physician, Ased-ollah-qhan, who had an unlimited influence over his patient's mind, having introduced a certain pretended Arabian, one Séyd-mahmed (who by-the-bye is indeed a strange fellow likewise) for a very proper man to be made his executor; this word was no sooner pronounced, than the dying man's consort, who actually was at hand behind a veil, fell a-crying; and she exclaimed as loud as she could, that she was an old woman, that needed neither an "executor nor a husband," and that she would suffer none at all The sick man overcome by her intreaties and tears, retracted his word, although accustomed to obey implicitly his physician's nod; and he died without appointing any executor at all; nor is there any thing so strange in that. What is really very strange, is that the physician, ruffled by this refusal of appointing that man of an ambiguous character for an executor, quitted the house exceeding discontented, and never returned since.

Whilst this singular affair was a subject of general animadversion, Mahmed-reza-qhan thought proper to marry Mahmed-aaly-qhan, his brother's relict, a nobleman who had been successively Governor of Islam-abad, H8gly, and Pooraniah, at which last place he had departed this life. This lady had two sons from her late husband, who had left her a great fortune in money

and jewels; nor would she hear of a second marriage. But bv a proper mediation, and the use of proper means, she was after a deal of trouble and intreaties, prevailed upon to yield her consent. It is said that at the period when Mahmed-reza-qhan was a Náib or Deputy-governor of all Bengal, he had already conceived an attachment to this lady (which of course must have been of old standing; for he had already had a glimpse of her charms some years before, when in the height of his power). His house was necessarily resorted to by both the women, his relations, and those of many other persons of distinction; at which time he had often opportunities of taking a peep at them, and as often conceived the desire of enjoying their company; for which purpose he used to employ a variety of means to overcome the reluctance of some fair ones that rejected his proposals. Although there was then a great deal of talk about these matters (which somehow never failed to become public), and a great deal of slander, about the answers of some of those women, which were always given at length, and in the very words(65), yet it would be improper to mention them here; and it would be a pity to spend any time in relating such subjects. It was in those times that Mahmed-aaly-qhan's consort, frequenting her brother-in-law's seraglio, on account of her near relation to the family, he found means to see her once, and conceived for her person an inclination which he could not satisfy, but some years after, when the lady becoming a widow, was prevailed upon to consent to a marriage, and was married in all the forms prescribed by law(66);

(65) This lady, which is a tall, fair woman of a noble, elegant figure, is extremely respected for her modest chaste widowhood, and for her present very modest conduct.

(66) One of those refractory ladies, which by-the-bye was of a high pedigree, being a grand-daughter of the Navvab Ser-efraz-qhan, and to which nature had bestowed that pale gold hue so much esteemed in India, (where it is much more valued than the fair or white colour) was actully going to a Rendezvous; but as chairs used for women are so far close and veiled, that the person sitting, never sees whither she is carried, nor how, nor by whom; her chairmen, who had been bribed, carried her, plump into the middle of Mahmed-reza-qhan's apartment. This nobleman, who had more than once asked alms of that fine lady and had as often been refused, now made his appearance, intreated her charity, and made use as before, of many intreaties and supplications, to which he added two trays covered with fine stuffs and some jewels. To all that the fair one did not pay the least attention; nor even did she vouchsafe so much as to cast a look at it Instead of that, she constantly kept her eyes aloof, where she was coldly busy in counting over the beams and joisters

and let the credit of this story stand upon the faith of the reporters and memorialists.

By this time the dispute between the Governor and the General having risen to the utmost height, each of them used to write his complaints to the King of England, and to the Company, and each of them received yearly answers. The third year after the General's arrival, by which time Colonel Monson was already dead, there came a letter from home, mentioning the Governor's intended departure, and that in that case, he must place the General in his stead. The General was likewise wrote to by his friends, that as the Governor was coming home, he, the General, had been appointed to the Government of Bengal. On this surmise the General, without waiting for the opening of the dispatches to the Governor, concluded that he had been in fact appointed to that high office; and coming into the Council-room, he took his seat where the Governor used to sit, as President of the assembly. The latter reprimanded him for such a precipitation and want of sense; but the General, naturally violent, becoming still more violent on what was just passing, uttered a number of inconsiderate words, and a quantity of unworthy expressions. On which the Governor, according to the custom of his nation, submitted the whole of the dispute, with its questions and answers, to the decision of the Supreme Royal Court of Justice; and those Magistrates on mature examination adjudged the cause to the Governor; moreover, they reprimanded the General for his hastiness in such terms, as affected the credit of his assertion. In this manner the Governor kept his station and rank; but the General, unable to digest the shame he had undergone, retired extremely ruffled to his house; and a sense of his disgrace pressing incessantly upon his lofty mind, he became so deeply affected, as to fall sick. He was an old man; and his sorrow and resentment preyed so much

The General attempts to take possession of the Government.

But returns confounded and abashed.

of the roof; nor did she condescend so much as once to cast a look upon her disconsolate petitioner; instead of that she went on railying him mercilessly and with the most disdainful look upon that insatiableness of his, which made him covet every fine woman he came to hear of, whilst at the same time his stock in bank proved so ill furnished with cash, that his desk was full of bills unanswered, and of draughts unhonoured. The brow beaten lord, finding that nothing was to be got from that haughty fair one, but merciless satire, was obliged to dismiss her: and she went away without so much as saluting.

upon his constitution, that he soon appeared to be quite dispirited and sunk. It happened that in those very letters from home, that had caused so much ill blood, the Governor had received a license to marry a Lady to which he was greatly attached(67); and having on that account given a great entertainment, he, first of all others, invited the General to honour it with his presence. The latter excused himself on his sickness, and on the weakness of his body; but the Governor himself having repaired to his house, and by dint of entreaties prevailed upon him to come with him to the assembly, the General made such a long stay there, that on his return home, he found himself much worse. Unhappily the physician whom out of precaution, he had brought from home, and who was particularly attached to him, having mistaken his case, so as to order a clyster against the General's intreaties and inclination, the remedy as soon as it was received, brought on a Syncope; and the General surrendered his soul to his Maker.

The General dies of a broken heart.

From this time Mr. Francis suffered a diminution in his influence, whilst there accrued to the Governor an accession of power; and although Mr. Wheeler, who had succeeded Colonel Monson, sided with Mr. Francis, and became his friend, yet the latter's party benefited nothing by it, being overborne by the Governor's high station, and overawed by his superior genius and superior knowledge. The fact is, that the Governor's influence had already taken the upper hand; and soon after Colonel Monson's death, the General's party had lost much of its energy, insomuch that those English rulers and others, who had been appointed by his interest against the Governor's mind, now lost their usual support; but after the demise of the General himself,

(67) The story reported of this Lady is singular enough. Born at Archangel, in the very north of that very northern country, Russia, she married a German officer, who was reformed, and who finding that matters went ill with him, repaired to England to seek a livelihood, and from thence to India, where he lived by pencilling miniatures, for which he had some small talent. But the Governor having put it in his power to purchase an estate in Saxony, he divorced his wife, which was espoused by the former; and indeed she must have been a woman of uncommon merit, to have made so lasting an impression on so sublime a genius as Hastings. At the same time it must be acknowledged that she did him some little harm, by unseasonably parading in jewels, after landing in England, although there are now Ladies in England that must have imported from India a great deal more of that glittering kind of property than herself.

their fate could not long remain in suspense. Mr. Bristow was recalled from Lucknow; Mr. Sage from Azim-abad; Mr. Fouk from Banares, as well as Mr. Goran from Moorshood-abad; and others were appointed in their stead, that is, Mr. Middleton and Mr. Law, and Mr. Gram; but Mr. Baber was sent to Moorshood-abad, to be the hinge and centre of all business there. As to Radja Goordass, son of the deceased Nand-comar, the Governor both to condole with him, and likewise to oblige the General, promoted him to the Divanship of Mubarec-ed-döwlah's house; and after that, still out of regard to the General, he appointed him to the Divanship of the Khalissah of Bengal, although he was little capable of such an office. But he did not enjoy it long, and on the General's demise, or even after Colonel Monson's demise, he lost that appointment, and remained shut up in his house for a long time; when by Menny-begum's interest, he was appointed a second time to the superintendence of Mobarec-ed-döwlah's house; and he arrived at the city about the middle of the second Djemady, of the year 1192. As to Mahmed-reza-qhan, he lost by the General's demise, much of his strength. His influence grew daily feebler, and at last it was reduced to nothing. They add that the Governor struck with some particulars of his conduct, did not trust him altogether; so that he was dismissed from the office of General Fodjdar and principal Magistrate of Bengal; and he lost also his appointment of Deputy to Mubare-ed-döwalh. Sadr-el-hac-qhan was appointed to succeed him in those two offices, although the Governor himself must have been sensible, that so much business was by all means above the old man's capacity and strength. Nevertheless, as he had become one of the Governor's acquaintances, so early as the latter's first appearance in Bengal; and at his second coming he had proved himself an assiduous worshipper at the altar of his power, without ever relaxing in the revolutions that had followed; and as great men with much tenderness of heart, are apt to prefer a personal attachment to any public qualification; the Governor devised those two offices for him as a reward for his attachment, although they seemed to be so much above his desert. The man was at once raised to the summit of honour and power. Radja Goordass, who had preceded him by some time, brought an order for Mahmed-reza-qhan's dismission, and a letter to

Mahmed-reza-qhan disgraced and dismissed.

Sadr-el-haq-qhan, an old decrepit man, appointed Fodjdary General.

Mubarec-ed-dŏwlah, resquesting that until Sadr-el-hac-qhan's arrival, he should continue all the officers of the Fodjdary as they stood with Mahmed-reza-qhan, but under his own order. Such a revolution could not but please Menny-begum, who had been all this while putting up fervent prayers for such a return of happy days as these. She assumed a new life, but became desirous of keeping from the old man the office of Mubarec-ed-dŏwlah's Deputy; and she even carried her views so far as to endeavour to wrest also the Fodjdary and the Divanship from his hands, if possible. Full of this scheme, she dispatched her household Divan to Calcutta, to lay her requests before the Governor, especially about wresting the Deputyship from the old man's hands. The Governor, to humour her, promised wonders; and some days were spent in conference with the two parties; but at last the matter ended just as the Governor had determined at first, with some slight alterations, however, to oblige Mubarec-ed-dŏwlah and Menny-begum. At last, on the second of Djemady, Sadr-el-hac-qhan arrived at Moorshood-abad. As he was a man of much simplicity of manners, and had become decrepit with old age, it happened that in transacting business, and even in going to or coming from Court, and in presenting himself before Mubarec-ed-dŏwlah, he was unadvertently guilty of some actions that discovered the debility of his body, and not only detracted much from his weight, but also rendered his person ridiculous. He had appointed (for a sum of money, they say) one Aga-mahmed-aaly, a Persian born, to the Fodjdary of Azim-abad, the magistrature of which city, he gave at the same time to Aga-abdol-raheem. But as this Mahmed-aaly, who was a man of narrow principles, came soon to behave very ill, he soon lost his command, which lasted but little, and he acquired the aversion of all the inhabitants of that city, which he filled with discontents and heart-burnings. But it is time for us now to take our leave of these transactions of interior police all over Bengal, in order to turn our eyes upon those events in which that country has cut so great a figure in the Indian world, and especially in those southern parts of it known under the name of Decan.

The Marhatta Empire which has still its two seats or Capitals in those southern regions, had been for a length of

time governed by Baladji-ráo, who on the demise of Saho-radja(68), had assumed the administration, and become Sovereign of the Marhatta dominions, where he cut so great a figure, that we shall be obliged to make full mention of him in the sections relative to Decan, as much at least, as his affairs are come to our knowledge. On his demise, his son succeeded him of course. But the deceased had also a brother, and it was Ragonat-ráo; who thinking his pretensions much superior to those of the young Prince, his nephew, undertook to support them. This produced some civil dissensions, which ended by putting the uncle under some confinement; and he was thought well secured, when he found means to gain his guards, and by treason and artifice, to kill his nephew, after which he took possession of the administration, and sate in his stead. But as a great difference of sentiments prevailed amongst the Grandees of that Empire, whilst several of them took party with Ragonat-ráo, the greatest number, however, sided with the relict of Baladji-ráo's son, who was left pregnant. Her party raised the Princess to the supreme command, displayed the standard of contention, and having vanquished Ragonat-ráo in battle, they confined him again. Nevertheless, after some time, they concluded a treaty of friendship and union between the Princess and the uncle; but the latter dissatisfied with the terms imposed upon him, found an opportunity of escaping again; and he fled to the English of the factory of Bombay, where he entered into an agreement with them, and was received under their protection. Nor is this a novel event. It is in consequence of such and the like divisions that most of the strongholds, nay, almost the whole of Hindostan, have come into the possession of the English. For instance, two Princes contend for the same country, and one of them applies to the English, and informs them of the way and method of becoming masters of it. By his insinuations and by their assistance, he draws to himself

The author takes his leave of the interior parts of Bengal, in order to speak of the Decan, and especially of the Marhatta Empire.

Manner by which the English have found their way into most parts of India.

(68) The words, Saho radja, after having been a proper name of one of the first Marhatta founders, are now become an appellative title of the Emperor of that nation, a Prince of the Radjpoot or military race, who always resides at Satara; whilst the acting and real Emperor, who is of the Brahman or sacerdotal tribe, and resides at Poona, two days N.-N.-East of Satara, is called his *Nana*, or maternal uncle, and as often the *Pishwa* or the agent (or precursor.)

some of the leading men of the country, who being his friends, are already fast attached to his person; and meanwhile the English having concluded to their own mind some treaty and agreement with him, they for some time abide by those terms, until they have acquired a good insight into the government and customs of the country, as well as a thorough acquaintance with the several parties in it; and then they discipline an army, and getting themselves supported by one party, they soon overcome the other, and little by little introduce themselves into the country, and make a conquest of it. And although their introductor should prove too shrewd for them, and should give them the slip, still they never dispute with him; but being a set of men always wise and always in temper, they patiently wait until by his death some unworthy son comes to succeed him; at which time under his name and without opening any dispute with him, or creating any ill renown to themselves, they complete the conquest, and have the art to finish their business in such a sly manner, that no reproach can be made to them. By which means the downfall of the people of those parts, especially of the great and powerful ones, is soon obtained by the hands of one another; and all this is brought about so artfully, that the idiots set up by them, unaware of the above management, do of their own accord and motion work at the ruin of their equals; and meanwhile the English who seem quite passive, as if suffering themselves to be lead, are in fact giving motion to the machine, and turning those sots into so many objects of endless contempt and raillery, both in Hindostan and in Europe. Meanwhile those fools fancying themselves shrewd in business, plume themselves and strut about, until the seeds of mischief planted by them, coming to shoot up, the day of retribution and vengeance comes with them, and they pay and smart in their turn for having squandered away the little money they had scraped together in working themselves into those honours and those stations they so little deserved. They seem to be the centre of a mighty bustle, but in fact do nothing more than ruin still more, a country already ruined; fall at last under the lash of outstanding ballances; and after paying into the treasury of the English as an equivalent, all the money they have before hoarded, they are now obliged to sit down with the odious character

Dark and severe hints against Mahmed-reza-qhan.

of having been the carriers and porters of exaction and tyranny. So that those glorious rulers, after ruining all the world, and burning their own feathers, now become sensible of their losses, turn repentants; but it is only at a time when repentance cannot mend their circumstances, and when they have become already so infamous and so odious, that this distich becomes quite applicable to their case:

" Have you seen what has done that jackass of a little man?(69)
" He has borne all the odium of the exaction, and another has run
" away with all the profit."

To return to our narrative, the Governor of Bombay gave notice of all these troubles to Governor Hushtin; and it was at a time when the disputes between the French and English, disputes which were of old standing, were revived again on account of the assistance which the former had given to the men of America. These men, who are of the same race with the English, had these two or three hundred years past settled in Amercia, which is a New-found-land called Yengbi-D8nia(70), much resembling England, and where those men lived, bred children, spent their lives, and died. Only they were under the jurisdiction of the King of England, and yielded obedience to his orders, These men since some time, (which cannot be more than four or five years ago) had revolted from their King, on account of his demanding more of them than was customary. They had fought his troops; and having killed the people that had exercised in the King's name the power of binding and loosing, that is, the members of the Council of that land, they had set up of themselves a government like a Council. Not content with all that, they ~~had~~ more than once given battle to the King's troops, had come off victorious, and had occasioned to the King and Company

(69) These verses were made about the year 1720, when Eshreff, the last of the Afghan Princes, obliged to quit Isfahan, on the approach of Nadyr-cooly-qhan. *alias* Tahmasp-cooly-qhan, plundered and sacked the city as well as the royal treasury, loaded his booty upon some hundred mules, and in his flight to Sheeraz, was beaten and obliged to run farther, after having lost his treasure. He was slain at last in endeavouring to make his escape through the country of the Ballooches, where these ferocious people put an end to his life.

(70) These words, which in Turkish signify *new world*, have passed together with the news of the discovery, from Turky to Persia, and then to India; just as the *Lues* called by the Turks *Frenc Zahmety* or the European tormens now known in Persia by that name, and in Hindostan by a translate of those words.

losses to the amount of corors. The French, at all times sworn enemies to the English, resolved to ingratiate themselves with the Americans, and to turn their revolt to some account for themselves; and with that view they furnished them with cannon, muskets, powder and ball, and all the necessaries for warfare. The King of England, incensed at such an assistance given at a time, when the term of peace between two nations was not yet expired, declared war against the King of the French also.

It was at a time when the English nation secure on every side in Hindostan, felt some inquietude on the side of the Marhattas and from Háider-náik. This Háider-náik had, ten or twelve years ago, waged war with the English in such a manner as to come off victorious, and to make some advantage of it. The Marhattas were full as dangerous; as they have a way of fighting of their own, and will ten times a day attack, and as many times again retreat or take to flight; and they are accustomed to reduce to great straits, for want of water and necessaries, such troops as are less handy than themselves at this work of plundering and running away. The English on those accounts reckoned a war with them to be a difficult piece of work; and they knew very well that Háider-náic was in correspondence with the French. On those two considerations Governor Hushtin who is by excellence the man of genius of his nation, and who displays everywhere a consummate skill and wisdom, thought it expedient to close with Ragonat-ráo's proposals, an ally that put in his hands the great advantage of fighting the Marhattas in their own country; so great was his foresight. His project was to send an army into Decan, on pretence of assisting Ragonat-ráo whom the English were to bring over to their camp; and by his means to engage the Marhatta nation to a peace and an alliance with them; which alliance would have put it in his power to grant Ragonat-ráo the completion of his fondest wishes. After having brought the Marhatta rulers to submit and agree, he intended to draw both Ragonat-ráo and his adversaries into such an alliance, as should bind them to a pact of never joining the French; and such a treaty he intended to strengthen by a paper signed and sealed by both Ragonat-ráo and the Marhatta rulers, who were to secure it under their most solemn oaths. All that was intended to be

Governor Hushtin's project.

done by art and persuasion. But in case the matter did not succeed to his wishes, then he hoped that so soon as he should have effected a junction with ragonat-ráo, he might force the Marhatta rulers to a compliance with his views. For he knew that this Prince being himself a man of importance, and the son of a man of importance in that nation, there was no doubt but some great men would join him of themselves, and that some others would easily be brought to do the same, whether by persuasion or by force; and as the English led by a destiny, (that designed to make use of that nation for punishing a wicked, thoughtless race of men, unmindful of their God) had so successfully fought battles, made such amazing conquests, and with a deal of ease pushed their victories as far as almost within sight of Shah-djehan-abad, the Capital of Hindostan; so the Governor thought that the war in Decan would prove full as easy; and that after beating and dispersing the Marhatta armies, it would prove an easy task to reduce Háider-náic to straits. After which operation he might without any anxiety from the French, or other European Powers, and without much hindrance from the Princes of India, bring in a certain number of years, and with proper management, all Hindostan into submission, and then sit down in ease and content to enjoy his prosperity. All this scheme was founded upon much foresight and much knowledge of India; for the enmity of the French is of old standing, and that nation by joining the Americans had acquired so mighty an accession of hatred and power, that were they now to listen so far to their jealousy against the prosperity of the English in these countries, as to land in India with some thousand Europeans to the assistance of Háider-náic and the Marhattas, they would raise such commotions, as would be very difficult to quell; and there is no doubt but in such a case not a man from the Marhattas, and not a man of consequence from Hindostan, would side with the English. Whereas now Ragonat-ráo himself, the pretender to the Marhatta Empire, was ready to join them of his own accord; and it was probable that those schemes of the Governor's would take place of themselves, and would be followed by further victories and by the subjection of all Hindostan, without much expense or trouble. In fact, the Governor's piercing genius having beheld as present all those contingencies,

which were yet in the womb of time, had resolved to sow dissensions, and to encourage and nurse them by sending successively numerous troops towards Decan. It was reported that this scheme of the Governor's not having met with Mr. Francis's and Mr. Wheeler's approbation, two Members of the Committee, they contended that they ought to remain satisfied with so much dominion as they had already acquired, without stretching their feet out of their frontiers; and it may be that such likewise were the orders from the Council of Europe, and such the safest party. But the Governor disapproving of such timid opinions, took upon himself singly all the risks of this business, and set out in earnest with this war.

A.D. 1779-80. It was at this time, that is, about the end of the year 1192, of the Hedjrah, that Colonel Godard, who had always shewn me a deal of friendship and attachment, having set out from Lucknow for Calcutta, to put an end to some questions and answers of his own, I availed myself of that opportunity and of the Colonel's countenance, to repair from Azim-abad to Calcutta, in order to push an affair that concerned me greatly; and great were the hopes I had conceived; when the poor Colonel by a sudden stroke of chance, was obliged to give up his own schemes for returning towards Lucknow, and to prepare himself for an expedition in Decan. For he was appointed to a command in the army which was to march from Lucknow and Ilah-abad; a disappointment that affected already his affairs as well as his spirits. This departure of the Colonel's having left me alone and without support, I lost all hopes of succeeding in my own business, especially as the English, immersed in disputes amongst themselves, and in preparatives of war, did not pay any attention to the affairs of Hindostanics. To mention such matters in these historical sheets, would be improper. What for to go on singing dirges upon my destiny, and uttering complaints against the world? Whatever is predestinated to happen in a certain time and in certain circumstances, will certainly come to pass.

"Let us will or not will, what is in our destiny shall come to pass assuredly."

The cause of Colonel Godard's discontent was the appointment of Colonel Lesley to the command of the above army, in consequence of his superior rank in the service, to whom of course he would be obliged to obey. Now Colonel Godard

was upon very bad terms with him; nor had Lesley the least capacity or fitness for such a command. But according to the rules of seniority, customary amongst the military of that nation, Colonel Godard had been obliged either to resign entirely the service, or to submit to him. As I had long conceived an attachment for that officer, I used to tell him, that the expedition in which he was embarked, was an object of the utmost importance. But he was so proud of the easy conquests and the repeated victories of his nation, that he thought the whole an easy matter; and he would often answer that two regiments of their Talingas were enough to beat all the Hindostanies put together. Such high-flown notions of his, rendering it improper and useless in me to insist upon my admonition, I chose to be silent.

Colonel Godard appointed to serve under Colonel Lesley much against his will.

As for Colonel Lesley, that officer, in consequence of his appointment by the Council, set out from Ilah-abad to repair to Calpy, from whence he was to begin his march through the Bundul-cund, and the dependencies of Barar, quite to Aoreng-abad, and so on to Decan. His orders were to take Ragonat-ráo with him, and to effect a junction with the army from Bombay at the appointed place; after which he was to proceed jointly with him in the business of bringing the Marhatta rulers to a submission in the manner projected by the Council of Calcutta. The Governor had taken care to facilitate the success of this expedition, by dispatching to Great-Náigpoor(71), Mr. Elliot, a man who in sincerity of speech, and propriety of conduct, has few equals amongst his own countrymen, as well as amongst the Hindostanies. His orders were to renew the treaties, and to pay slowly the balances of money due by the Revenue of Bengal to Moodda-dji and to the posterity of Rago-dji-bhossla; and he was to return after having put that court in good humour. Náigpoor is the capital of the country held by Rago-bhossla, as Mucasdar(72) of the province of Barar. This Rago is the same who after a twelve years' bloody war with

Mr. Elliot, a man of singular merit, appointed Embassador at the Court of Poonah.

(71) A city, the capital of the Marhattas of Barar. It is called the great, to distinguish it from another Náigpoor called the lesser, which is the capital of a Zemindary or Pricipality in the western parts of Bengal, from which it depends.

By the treaties alluded to by the author, Bengal was indebted to the Court of Náigpoor into a yearly pension of twelve lacs.

(72) Collector of the revenue in behalf of the Marhatta Government; the words is also meant for *Feudatory*.

Aaly-verdy-qhan, whom he had fought with a variety of successes, had at last made an accommodation with him, by which the English his successors have abided inviolably, avoiding all disputes on that subject with the Marhatta's posterity; trusting nevertheless so far to their own power and prevalence as never to pay regularly the pension stipulated by that Viceroy. They act in that business in a languid, ambiguous manner, giving little at a time, and withholding much. Not but that messages and letters were going on constantly from Náigpoor to Calcutta, demanding the outstanding balances; but yet it was in a soft moderate style. In short, the intent of Mr. Elliot's embassy was to renew the treaty, and to manage so, as that Rago's sons and dependants should not offer any opposition to the English army, then marching towards the Decan; nor meanwhile avail themselves of the opportunity to make an irruption into Bengal and Bahar. Now it must be observed that as Rago's posterity on one hand were nephews to the Sahoo Radja, and pretenders to his dignity and station; and on the other Baladji-ráo, after the said Radjah's demise, had availed himself of the power and authority of his office of Generalissimo of the forces, to take possession of the dominions and treasures of the deceased, and had set aside the right of Rago's posterity to the throne; the Court of Náigpoor therefore did not live upon good terms with the Court of Poona; and neither Moodda-dji, nor his Ministers, made any difficulty to renew the pact and agreement with the English. So that the Colonel's army marched on without opposition, and the provinces of Bengal and Bahar meanwhile remained free from their ravages. Unluckily as Mr. Elliot was cutting his way thro' a mountainous tract in the height of the rains, he was suddently overtaken by his last hour, and having laid his foot in the valley of death, he departed for eternity. His embassy was taken up, and its intent fulfilled, by the younger Mr. Anderson, who returned to Calcutta by the way of Azim-abad and Bahar.

As for me who had conceived such mighty hopes on my coming to that city in Colonel Godard's company, with whose assistance I was to carry a point in the Council, and who besides had an old acquaintance with the Governor, I could obtain only two or three interviews with him, in one of which, he asked

me whether at any time I had been in Decan? I answered that I had never been there, but that I had some little knowledge of the affairs of those parts; and I continued the discourse in these words: "Colonel Godard, who wanted to carry "this poor man with him, as a friend and companion, proposed "two conditions to me: The first, that the office of Monshy "should be under the sole direcion of this most inconsiderable "of men, without whose inspection and correction no letter "should be dispatched. The second, that the poor man should "also undertake the voyage and embassy into Decan. The "second condition I declined, on account of old age, and the "fear of remaining a longwhile parted from my children and "family, but especially of being deprived of the happiness of "keeping prostrated at the feet of a mother, who had an "affection for me. In short, as my destiny had not set apart "any grain or water or air for me in Decan, the voyage did not "take place." As to the affair for which I had come with Colonel Godard, that gentleman on setting out for camp recommended it to Mr. Elliot; and this best and most obliging of men, obtained in fifteen days a letter from the Governor to the Council of Azim-abad, which he backed by another, very strong of his own, and also by another to Mr. Anderson, who was then a Member of that Council and an intimate triend of his. My business was in a fair way, when Mr. Anderson was recalled to preside at the Board of Revenue in Calcutta, and Mr. Golding set out for Europe. So that my affair which was already in a fair way, remained spoiled, and is at a stand, until my destiny shall produce some favourable event. But it is time for us now to leave my private affairs, and even the English army with what adventures it shall chance to have in Decan; it being my attention to postpone that narrative to a view of the state of affairs in Calcutta and in Bengal.

We have sometime ago left Rabiah-begum, departing for the other world with all the tokens of the sincerest repentance. Her daughter, Banni-begum, followed her a few years after, and departed this life in the year 1193, when Mahmed-reza-qhan was already out of office. Her distemper was a loss of blood(73),

(73) That loss of blood had been brought by an abortion forced some years before.

for which some body having given her an astringent remedy to repress the superabundance of blood, it stopped likewise all the customary evacuations of every kind, until it struck into her heart and brain. Mahmed-reza-qhan sent her a remedy intended to strengthen both. It availed nothing; and she departed for her long prilgrimage. Her wealth, which was great, was taken possession of by that Minister, in appearance to guard it against accidents; and it was reported that it had been received by her heir. But no one has ever been able to say, that he had seen that heir, or heard of the division of that money and of those jewels which she was known to be possessed of. Doubtless that piece of knowledge is reserved for the Glorious One, Who knows all things.

It was about this time likewise that Sadr-el-hac-qhan, the new Supreme Magistrate, a man well striken in years, always sickly, and who most of his time was out of order, departed toward the regions of eternity, after having answered his Creator's call, with the words: *I am ready, O Lord*(74)! It was the 19th of Zilhidj, of the year 1194, after having lived for one year, four months, and about twenty-five or twenty-six days, with the name of Fodjdar-General. It is not improper to give some account of him. He was born in Gudjrat; and upon some emergency, came to Shah-djehan-abad with his father, where the old man died; and the son not finding any prospect of advancement in that capital, repaired to Bengal and to Moorshood-abad, where he was introduced into Aaly-verdy-qhan's service. This Prince gave him a pension, and after the demise of Cazy-muzaffer-aaly-qhan,

(74) Arabic words, which every man is obliged to pronounce with a loud voice, or which are pronounced by him by the by-standers. This is the some Princess, who frightened beyond her wits by one of the Moluvies or Judges of the Fodjdary or Criminal Court of those times, who made her believe that fornication was still more punishable by the English than by the Mahometans, ransomed herself with a sum of fifty thousand rupees, squeezed from her under the name of the English Chief, (it was Mr. Samuel Middleton). The money was paid down; but two days after some one having sent her word that she had better apply to the Englishman himself, she went to him, was perfectly well received, and obtained full redress. The money, that is, the greatest part of it, was recovered out of the hands of Moluvi Hosseiny by the Englishman's Banyan, Santyram, who kept it to himself. This Santyram is the same who made a fortune of fifty-nine lacs under his kind, but too supine master in 1773, and 1774, and 1775; and in 1776 suffered him to be carried to a jail for a sum of forty thousand rupees.

he appointed him Daroga, or Auditor of the Court of justice. In the sequel, that is, at the time of the Marhatta irruption, he was sent Embassador to their rulers in Decan, where he acquired the esteem and good will of both sides, and was honoured with presents by both. Being now a man of some character, as well as of some money, he came to have a regiment of his own, and to be reputed a man of distinction. And this was his rank under Aaly-verdy-qhan's reign, and under that of his successors and relations; until Mahmed-reza-qhan came into power, and then he was appointed to the Government of Baghalpoor, where he remained but little, being turned out of his office. On Governor Hushtin's arrived in Bengal, he attached himself to him, and remained so steadfast in his attachment, that he was rewarded for it by being appointed to the office of Fodjdar-General, as well as by being decorated with a title of honour. But he enjoyed little so lucrative an office; and having said farewell to this fragile world, he took his journey towards the regions of eternity. This death occasioned a change in the affairs of Moorshood-abad.

As the Governor-General disapproved of Mahmed-reza-qhan's conduct, and Menny-begum was not pleased with that Minister's disposing of the Nizamet, and spending the young Prince's money as freely as he pleased; and on the other hand, Mubarec-ed-dōwlah himself was sometimes on this side, and sometimes on the other; there arose differences about the appointment and distribution of those offices, which Sadr-el-hac-qhan had left vacant. The Governor, who is the first man in the world for appreciating any one's merit and capacity, wanted to sound Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, who is really capable of putting in order affairs of the utmost importance, as well as of unravelling their utmost intricacies and subtilities. The Governor esteemed the Qhan a fit man for such an high office; and with that view he wrote to Mr. Baber, Chief of Moorshood-abad, and an intimate friend of the Governor's, including a letter to Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, in which he requested to know whether he would accept of those offices. The Qhan, apprised of the dissensions then existing in the Committee, and sensible how unlike he was in his own temper to the great men then in office; and how difficult it would prove to keep in good humour such a set of discontented masters; felt

likewise a certain disinclination against the office of Fodjdary, as it stood then, and which in fact consisted of little else than a discharge of a Cutval's office, that is, in fining and killing, and hanging and maiming, and in imprisoning and confining people. He concluded it highly improbable that such an office could be at all times exercised without sometimes injuring and wronging mankind, and without rendering one's self responsible in a high degree both in this world and the other; and he excused himself from accepting such a charge. He was likewise sensible that it would be difficult in such an office, nay, out of his power intirely, to keep fair, and to live upon good terms, with a number of English gentlemen, who governed absolutely in every department. He therefore excused himself in a handsome manner, that did not disoblige either Mr. Baber or the Governor; and he disengaged himself from the proposal. He knew that, in consequence of the necessity of keeping fair with some persons who did not agree amongst themselves, the exercise of his office would have very little solidity; for that in every business and in every transaction he must of all necessity manage so, as to oblige five persons that have absolute power in the Committee, and ten or twenty more that are attached to them, and expect equal regard. And how long would a man be able to keep fair with them all, and to pay some small regard to his duty and character at the same time? In reality these dissensions, that have now spread in every branch of the administration, and the spirit of party that has now taken possession of the principal English, so as to become a second nature, are of such a species, as will always afford a sensible man many valuable reasons for declining any office at all under them; nor can a man dependent on them, but jealous of his own conscience and character, pretend to keep himself harmless from the consequences of that spirit of party and dissension which runs so high amongst his masters; even waiving all regard for his honour and character, such a man cannot avoid running a great risk. What, if when striving to oblige one of those choleric men, his enemy at some unlucky day finds it in his power to make me feel his resentment, and out of a spirit of revenge, is soon up with me by susciting upon me a variety of troubles and distresses? One of the main causes of the ruin of this country, and one of the main hinges

Aaly-hibrahim-qhan, to the surprise of all, refuses to succeed Sadr-el-hac-qhan in all the offices he had left vacant.

upon which turn the distresses and miseries of its inhabitants, is this very spirit of dissension, that has become customary and current amongst the English, who are now the masters and rulers of those kingdoms: a spirit that runs away with their faculties to the utter neglect of many duties. There are some other reasons likewise, which shall be explained in a short time at the close of this book, when mention shall be made of the conduct of the English rulers, and of their principal men in these regions.

Let us now return to the intrigues set up by Menny-begum. It is very probable that this haughty Princess, who does not love to see Mahmed-reza-qhan in power, and could not bear his meddling with the affairs of the Nizamet, did write to the Governor to insinuate, that if he intended to keep that department in his own power, he must prevail on Aaly-hibrahim-qhan to accept the above office, as the only method for keeping it under his own controul. The Governor, for these reasons, engaged both Menny-begum and Mubarec-ed-döwlah to renew their solicitations to that nobleman, and to say to him: "If you be apt to mistrust our "sincerity, we shall give you an obligatory paper under our "hands, by which we shall bind ourselves to do nothing without "your consent and permission; nay, that we shall not meddle "with any thing at all, if you will have it so. Or, if you feel any "inquietude about the expenditure of the money which may "come to take place upon some particular emergencies, for "which Mahmed-reza-qhan, in consequence of the power which "he enjoys, might bring you into trouble; and you should find "yourself at a loss how either to account for it or to refund the "same; then we take that case upon ourselves, and will give "you a writing under our hands, by which we shall acknowledge, "that whenever such a case shall happen, we shall account for "it ourselves, and shall bear you harmless." But all these solicitations availed nothing, nor would the Qhan lend an ear to them.

These divisions in the Council, which had deterred Aly-hibrahim-qhan, had not produced less considerable effects elsewhere, and especially at Lucknow. Two or three years after Shudjah-ed-döwlah's demise, that is, in the heighth of General Clavering's influence, Mr. Djan Brishtoo, a very sensible young

man, had been appointed to the residency at Lucknow: a modest word which implies no less than the absolute disposal of every thing in the provinces of Aood and Ilah-abad. That young man availed himself so well of his own talents, as well of Asuf-ed-dŏwlah's ignorance, and of Moqhtar-ed-dŏwlah his Minister's supineness, that he transferred to the immediate dominion of the Company, the country of Benares, which was part of the lease of the son of Radja Balvent-sing's. But the General being now dead, this service of his availed but little, and he was turned out of his office. Brishtoo, who had made money, and likewise done very well the Company's business, set out for his country, with intention to come back after having established his interest in England. But as long before his departure, the General and the others had wrote home to recommend him as a man of merit, that had rendered eminent services, there came after his departure, an order from Europe to continue him in his office, with many commendations and encomiums upon his conduct. Whilst that order was coming, Brishtoo himself arrived in England; and he availed himself so well of the services he had rendered, and of the General's recommendation, as well as of the joint efforts of that officer's friends, that he obtained a new order for himself, and another for reinstating Mahmed-reza-qhan in the Fodjdary; which two orders he brought himself to Calcutta. It was at a time when some appearance of a reconciliation was taking place betwixt the two parties. The defeat of two English armies in Decan had induced Mr. Doocreel, (Mr. Ducarell), heretofore Governor of Pooraniah, and who now was at the head of the Qhalissa or Finance office, to become mediator between the Governor and Mr. Francis, to whom he was a common friend. He made them understand, that this was not a time for them to dispute and to wrangle between themselves; and that they had better postpone their differents for such times as would follow afterwards on a cessation of troubles And as on the other hand Mr. Barwell, who had hitherto had but one heart and one mind with the Governor, to whom he had shewed a constant attachment, was now resolved, either out of some discontent against him, or for some purposes of his own, to repair to England; of course some union and friendship between the Governor and Mr. Francis had become the more necessary; and it took place

John Bristow transfers the province of Benares to the English.

accordingly, after some stipulations in favour of the latter, amongst which, the appointing of Mahmed-reza-qhan to the Fodjdary was a principal one. The Governor, who wished to oblige him, agreed to it; and on the twentieth of Sefer, of the year 1194, that Minister retook possession of that office; so that the water that had quitted his shore, commenced flowing again. They report on that occassion a very strange ancedote: A man well acquainted with Séyd-mahmed-qhan himself (who is the same person to whom the Minister is so much attached, as to admit him to every one of his secrets, and to undertake nothing without his advice and approbation) averred, as holding it from his own mouth, that Mahmed-reza-qhan had vowed and promised to the Divine Author of all gifts, and had written with his own hand upon a Coran of one of his friend's, "That if he ever recovered his "offices and dignities, he would, as an offering to God, distribute "twelve thousand rupees to the poor." What is strange, is that to this day, which is the end of the year 1195, and a full twelve month after the completion of his wish, the promise has not been fulfilled yet. Séyd-mahmed-qhan likewise had a positive order to execute, as delivered in these words: "And if you observe "any tergiversation or neglect in me, after I shall have obtained "the full of my wishes, then be sure to seize me by the throat, "and to hold it fast squeezed, until I have paid down the money "which you may then distribute yourself." Accordingly at the appointed time, the Qhan made serious instances, but to no purpose. The Minister brought forth a variety of apologies, such as "that Mubarec-ed-döwlah had already distributed so much "money in alms, in his intention; the necessity of putting in "repair his palaces of Now-Saht and Nyshat-baqh; the urgency "of some expenditures, and such other matters; all which he "thought sufficient excuses." What looks singular is, that in order to tranquillise the Qhan's conscience, he added "That he "(Séyd-mahmed-qhan) had got out of his promise, but that him-"self was still entangled in it; and that he hoped to see the day "when the Divine Providence would put it in his power to dis-"burse and distribute that money." Wonderful God! may I admire that variety of traces, everywhere discernible, of your Divine dispensations, by which you have spread amongst a single species of your creatures so much difference of tempers, and

A.D. 1780-81.

Mahmed-reza-qhan in office again, for the third time.

such a diversity of dispositions, that one individual shall spend so much of his consequence and time in covetously hunting after a dignity, which another individual, a thousand times inferior to him in wealth, shall have spurned at and rejected, although offered to him with solicitations and intreaties, by the reigning powers, and by the Lords of the land! Aaly-hibrahim-qhan struck the feet of contentment and resignation into the head and breast of that office(75), and remained unmoved by all its temptations, and all their prayers. But you are so, O worthy man, by a particular gift of the Author of all love!

Death of Mirza-iredj-qhan, and of Ahtiram-ed-dŏwlah.

About forty-two days before this event, Mahmed-iredj-qhan, son to Acbar-cooly-qhan, and father-in-law to Seradj-ed-dŏwlah, an illustrious nobleman of whom we have spoke in the history of Aaly-verdy-qhan, departed towards the regions of Divine mercy. It was the ninth of Muharrem, about the beginning of the year ninety-fourth of the Hedjra; and the fourteenth of second Rehy of the same year, Ahtiram-ed-dŏwlah-mir-cazem-qhan, brother to Mir-djaffer-qhan, and uncle to Mubarec-ed-dŏwlah, set out likewise for the mansions of the Divine Forgiver He fell sick at Radj-mahal, where he lived, and finding himself ill, he was repairing to Moorshood-abad, to get himself treated; but the Angel of death intercepted him on his way, and conducted him towards the road that leads to eternity. He was entombed in the monument of his family, with his father and brothers. He bore the character of a good natured man, but not without a mixture of indolence and supineness in his composition, as if to verify that sentence of the Coran, *That most of the inhabitants of the Paradise are simple of heart.* May God's forgiveness and mercy rest upon him for ever! The changes happened at Moorshood-abad and Lucknow were followed by some further alterations at Azim-abad.

About the middle of the year ninety-third of the Hedjra, Mr. Ayoon-law, Chief at that city, was for some particular reasons dismissed from his dignity and office; and he thought proper to repair to Mendradj, from whence he went to England. He was succeeded by Mr. Macsool (Maxwell), second to him in rank, who in conjunction with the other councillors, conducted the business of that province. Mr. Neec, one of them, was a man

(75) A literal translation

of a violent passionate temper, although full of sense; as well as vigorous and stiff in his attachments. But his Divan, Ram-lochun, a Bengaly of a strange savageness of temper, was narrow-minded, and of a very uncommon cast of mind; yet such as he was, he had gained a thorough ascendant over his master's mind. This gentleman was much displeased with Radja Hyaliram and some others, who being supported by, and connected with, Mr. Law, thought proper to keep at some distance from Mr. Neec, and his savage of a Divan. But as on the other hand, the latter drew a mighty credit and much countenance from his connections with Mr. Barwell, a leading Member of the Committee, to whom the Governor paid great deference, he had on those two accounts risen to so much power and influence in the Council of Azim-abad, that he did as he pleased. Radja Hyaliram, after Mr. Law's departure, found it necessary to join Mr. Neec; and under a promise of presenting him with a large sum of money, should he obtain the lease of some of the public revenues, he made his peace with him and became the disposer of all matters and transactions in the districts of Cháyn-poor, Sarseram, and Seress-cotumbah, to which places he repaired to hasten the collection with all his might. But as the money did not come in as fast as promised, Mr. Neec came forward, and let loose his Divan Ram-lochun, a man who bearing already a cordial hatred to Hyaliram, plunged him into so much chicanery and trouble, that the Radja fearful for his honour as well as for his life, resolved to repair to Calcutta, and to refer every thing to the Governor. But the difficulty was how to get out of Azim-abad, and how to elude Ram-lochun's clutches and watchfulness. He therefore applied by several petitions to the Governor, and represented, that should he (Hyaliram) be sent for to the presence, and rescued from the danger that hung over his head, he would demonstrate his own zeal and gratitude, by making many important discoveries. Maha-radja Calyan-sing, son to the late Shitâbrâi was so slothful and so supine a nobleman, as to have lost all power and influence at the Council Board of Azim-abad, where he was looked upon as a cipher. But as he was much discontented with all the Members, he came to Hyaliram's assistance, and wrote respectful letters to the Governor, setting forth the other's good conduct,

Disturbances and intrigues at Azim-abad.

and his punctuality in business. The Governor, who at once comprehended that administration might draw some benefit from these disputes, commanded Radja Hyaliram's attendance; and the latter thinking it a piece of good fortune to escape from the paws of Ram-lochun, repaired to Calcutta, where he soon found admittance. For although he is not always well-intentioned, yet being, as he is, full of sense and wit; and the times admitting, and even requiring men of such active characters; he was handsomely received by the Governor, to whom he gave an account of the real causes of the endless failures and outstanding balances in the collections of the province of Azim-abad. He informed him of the numberless infidelities of Ram-lochun's, and of the endless oppressions and exactions, which he had been guilty of on the inhabitants of that unhappy country, and which he was still committing by himself and his dependants, as well as by the officers of the Fodjdary-office, at the head of which he was in his master's right. The Governor, on hearing such a dismal account of that country, could not be brought to believe that men of his nation could be guilty of such excesses, nor would he on Hyalirams's suggestions dismiss the whole Council of Azim-abad; a necessary measure, however, and in consequence of which the people of God might have been rescued from the miseries of yielding obedience to such a set of rulers, and the necessity of depending on their nod and pleasure. Neverthelss impressed by Hyaliram's sense and wit, and by the flowing easiness of his delivery, the Governor granted him most of his demands, and left the disposal of the collections of those parts to his discretion and knowledge, although Hyaliram had no money of his own, and he was supported by no one protector. Thus in consequence of his representations and good management, all the former collectors of revenue were dismisssed, and himself was invested with full powers, and a decisive authority over the affairs of that resort. Hyaliram, out of attachment and gratitude for former benefits received from Calyan-sing, set apart for his account some districts of that province, and kept only some others for himself; and thus after having performed a voyage that did him a deal of honour and credit, he returned to Azim-abad, about the beginning of the year 95 of the Hedjra A little after, all the Members of the Council were dismissed from

The Council of Azim-abad accused of enormous infidelities in the management of finances.

their shares in the Revenue-office; and the two Radjahs addicted themselves jointly to the care of putting the finances in order. On the other hand, the people of the province, glad to return to the sway of their own countrymen, trusted to the appearance of unanimity and unity of command, which seemed to reign between them; and they imagined that the oppressed public would soon be released from the miseries of its former situation. But such are the revolutions of heavenly bodies, and such the instability which they impresss on human affairs and dispositions, that hardly was Hyaliram arrived from Calcutta; hardly was he recovered from the bodily labour he had undertaken, partly on Radja Calyan-sing's account, than the latter, notwithstanding all the obligations he owed to his colleague, became altered at once. At the instigation of some foolish proud young men, he had the impudence to write complaints against him to the Governor, and to accuse him openly in Mr. Macsool's presence, who was Chief of Azim-abad. But the Governor, who is the first man of his age for knowledge of the world, and who to form an estimate of a man's character and abilities, needs only to see and to hear him once; the Governor, I say, who in a few conferences with Hyaliram had already with his eagle-like keenness of sight, made himself master of the degree of that man's abilities and genius, and was likewise thoroughly apprised of the soft and ductile character of Calyan-sing's, paid no attention to the latter's imputations; but sent to the other, the investiture and honorary dress of Deputy to Calyan-sing, making him the sole disposer of all revenue matters. May God Almighty turn the dissensions and jealousies of the people of this country into union and love, so that all its inhabitants may enjoy rest and comfort, and may they exchange evil for good!

All the Members of that Council dismissed from the management of finances.

It is not improper to observe on Hyaliram's subject, that although he is so determined a liar, that there is no trusting to his word, yet such as he is, he must be endowed, and he is really endowed with so many laudable qualifications, that it would be difficult to find his equal in this present time, as characters go now; nor would I be surprised at all to see him turn better than he is, and improve his character essentially, on being favoured with an accession of power, and a more extensive office; nor would it be at all improbable, but that in such a case, the people of this

Strange and yet valuable character of Hyaliram, with an affecting little story, that does him a great deal of honour.

province should come to better their unhappy condition, and to enjoy a release from the pains and miseries they endure; for there are some particulars in that man's odd character, that do him an infinite deal of honour.

A few days before our writing these lines, there came from Bengal to Azim-abad a venerable gentleman, with a flowing white beard. He was a Persian-born, and a stranger. The day of his arrival, after having fatigued himself in setting his little things in his new lodgings, he was suddenly taken ill, and died about midnight. At day-break the officers of the Fodjdary-office rushed headlong into his lodgings, with an intention to take possession of his effects. He had four small children, all motherless. The poor fellows waking suddenly at the noise, and seeing their father motionless, and so many strange faces in the house, took fright, and clinging as close as they could to the dead body, as if for protection, they fell a-weeping and a-trembling. The man's servant waking at last, and being at once overwhelmed by a number of questions and by the threats of those oppressors, wanted to part the children from the corpse; and these auguring nothing but ill from that violence, fell a-screaming all together with all their might, so as to fill the whole quarter with an uproar, which people compared to that of the Day of Judgment. Radja Hyaliarm came to hear of this matter; but his chairmen not being at hand, he ran on foot out of his house; and going into the lodging in question, he exerted himself in soothing and pacifying the affrighted children. Sending at the same time for a Minister of the Mussulman religion, and for a winding sheet, with some other necessaries, he ordered the prayers directed by law to be pronounced over the deceased, his body to be washed according to those rites, and then to be buried in a particular spot, which he had bought a few days before for his own burial, and which he from that moment bequeathed as a burying ground for poor faithful travellers(76). This done, he took by the hand those children, who were now orphans indeed, and carried them to his house, where he desired his consort to bring them up as his

(76) By faithful, the author understands no others than those of his own sect that is, the Shyhh sect, to which Hyaliram, as well as his master, Shytab-ray, were so strongly biassed.

own, with no difference at all in the treatment; and that very day, he settled a pension upon them, appointed a servant to their service, and found out a tutor to teach them their letters, and to bring them up in their father's religion. Lastly, he appointed a retired part of his lodgings for their habitation; and now they are carefully educated, until some relation or other, comes over to claim them; otherwise, he intends to adopt them himself, and to marry them amongst the Mussulmen. May the Most High God, by His favour and grace, augment that man's inclination to perform such meritorious actions, and may He turn other people's hearts towards pactices of benevolence and charity! Amen.

It is to be wished we could speak with as much fulness of the affairs and campaigns in Decan; but the detail of the battles and transactions in that country cannot be well known to any, but to those Commanders, who having been in battle against one another, have made trials of each other's valour and strength. As for me, I know only as much of them as has been published by common report, or has been written by Indians constituted in power and dignity; and it is these reports and relations which I am putting in order throughout these sheets. I was at Azim-abad, when I heard of the expedition and achievements of Colonel Godard's. That Commander being arrived at Ilah-abad, heard that the army in which he had been appointed to serve, was gone to Calpy; on which he made haste, and soon joined it at that spot, where he found that the English Commander had opened a correspondence, and a commerce of friendship with some Zemindars of those parts, and with some of the enemies of the Princes and Radjahs of the Bundul-cund, with whom he had concluded treaties, with a view to open a passage through their countries, and to conciliate their good will to the expedition. But on advancing a little beyond Calpy, Lesley who commanded in chief, and to whom Godard obeyed against his inclination, had the imprudence and thoughtlessness to engage himself in a parched country, where for some leagues together in every direction, no water at all was to be found, and no habitation to be seen; and this too at a season of the year, when the heats are intolerable, as it is always the case in India, just before the setting in of the rains; so that this imprudence cost him in that single day, three or four English

Colonel Lesley engages his army in a tract destitute of water, where he suffers a loss for want of refreshment.

officers, ten or twelve or even more English soldiers, and above a hundred of those native soldiers that go by the name of Talingas; all which dropped dead for want of water to quench their thirst. The remaining officers shocked at this enormous thoughtlessness of Colonel Lesley's, as well as at the covetousness of his temper, and the supineness of his conduct, became discontented against him, and wrote an infinity of complaints to the Committee of Calcutta. Colonel Godard himself wrote in the same style. He exposed his reasons of discontent; and observed, that as no union and concert could take place between Lesley and him, he requested either to be excused from so disagreeable a service, or that some other officer should be appointed to the supreme command. The other officers did not fall short of such a style in their letters; and even some of them wrote in common, "That if the Committee intended the safety "of this army, and to see it victorious, they must appoint "Colonel Godard to the command of it." The Governor and Council, on these universal complaints, thought proper to reprimand Lesley, and then to recall him from the army; and having raised Colonel Godard's station and rank, they appointed him to the sole command of that army. A brevet, drawn up in very honorable terms, was sent him at the same time. But by a singular good luck it happened that, before the order could come up, the ministers of destiny and fate had dismissed Lesley's spirit from the command and government of his body, and had forbidden the latter to obey any more the directions of the other; so that Godard was already in the full command of the army, when the order arrived. This officer, who in good manners and in the art of commanding has not his equal in the world, gained so much upon the hearts of his soldiers, and even of those of the Zemindars on his passage; and he kept so strict a discipline over his people, that he made great progresses in his journey. Having given two shameful defeats to the troops of Bundul-cund, which at two different times attempted to oppose his passage, he marched on boldly through an enemy's country, and over an unknown tract of land; and with no more than five or six thousand men, and ten or eleven pieces of cannon and mortars, he cut his way with great vigour and conduct for three months together, until he arrived very near to the spot

Death of Colonel Lesley, by which accident the command devolves on Col. Godard.

destined for the junction of his troops with the other English army that had set out from Bombay; but here he found matters very much altered. General Carnac, Commander of the army from Bombay, proud of his command, and anxious to acquire a great name before Godard's arrival, had hastened forward; and with an army under his command, which both in numbers and in artillery, was superior to Colonel Godard's(77), he attacked the Marhattas, and was completely vanquished. He was even besieged and enclosed in such a manner, as to suffer a total defeat, and to bring a complete disgrace upon the English arms. Those that survived that defeat, joined General Carnac, and were obliged to enter into some shameful articles with the victorious; and after having exchanged some stipulations, they returned to their fortress and homes at Bombay. Colonel Godard being apprised of that event, concluded that as his army had greatly suffered from the length of his march, and from the very numerous engagements in which he had been victorious, his troops to all appearance would prove unequal to the task of facing an enemy flushed with victory. He therefore thought it expedient to strike to the right, and to march on to Surat, which was a city and port in the power of the English. As soon as he arrived, and he had put his troops into quarters of refreshment, he wrote to the Council of Calcutta, which of late had been invested with a Dictatorial power over all the English factories on the Indian coast, and with the absolute direcion of all the English armies and officers in India. The Governor and Council, together with the Council of Bombay, refused to ratify the treaty made by General Carnac, and they commanded General Godard to fight the Marhattas.

Colonel Godard cuts his way with great vigour for three months together, and is on the point of effecting a junction with the army of Bombay, when the latter is totally defeated.

Whilst that Commander was in cantonments. Umed-el-mulk *alias* Mir-sheäb-eddin, the same who had sown so many troubles in Hindostan by his endless infidelities, and eternal intrigues; and had brought on the ruin of the Empire and even of these very kingdoms, by the revolutions he had caused; at once made his appearance in that city. That wretched, who had projected to ruin the sons of his own uncle, that is, the posterity of Nizam-el-mulk(78), and to complete the downfall of the remainder of

Mir-Sheab-eddin *alias* Umed-el-mulk, suddenly appears in Decan.

(77) This is a mistake of our author's. Carnac's army did not amount to more than four thousand men. Godard's troops exceeded six thousand.

(78) He was son to Ghazi-eddin-qhan, elder brother to Selabet-djung, to Nizam-aaly, to Bessalet-djung, and to Mir-musheriff, all sons to Nizam-el-mulk.

that family (which to this day enjoys great power and great dominions in Decan), was gone into those southern parts with sinister intentions. But the Grandees and Commanders of those countries, who luckily had still in their hearts some respect for their master's welfare, as subjects, and some regard for their own reputation and characters, as soldiers, refused to pay any attention to his intrigues and suggestions; and the man now reduced to straits, as well as unable to find throughout all the cities of Hindostan, or even in all those of Decan, a single spot, whereon he might tread in safety, repaired to Surat, under pretence of a pilgrinage to the glorious Mecca; and he kept himself concealed for a length of time, nor was he discovered but by some jewels of value which he got out for sale. Colonel Godard was obliged to write to the Governor and Council to know their pleasure with respect to this man; and he was at first forbidden to have any connections with him; but in the sequel, they conlcuded that an intriguing man is always a shrewd man; and that being acquainted with all the chief men of Decan, as well as allied to the family of Nizam-el-mulk, he might be of great use. Accordingly, they ordered the Colonel to have connections with him, in hopes that at some future emergencies, his abilities and knowledge might answer some purpose in their cause. The General upon this letter, admitted him to his friendship, and gave him a pension for his subsistence.

The English acquire in Gudjrat a potent ally.

Whilst the Bengal army was yet in Surat, the English interest had been recruited by a new ally. This was Ráo Fateh-sing-cáicvar, one of the principal feudatories of the Marhatta Empire. He had been invited over by Ragonat-ráo, who had engaged him to conclude a written engagement with that nation, in which he was promised to have the whole Gudjrat(79) for himself, under

(79) The Marhatta Empire consists of several feudatories, the principal of which are the Bhosselahs, who possess a country almost as extensive as Bengal, to the south-west of it, but more warlike; the Singhias, who possess the Malva; the Cáicvars who possess about fifty lacs of revenue in Gȣdjrat; and the Holcars, who are masters of the country round Bȣrhanpȣr. They are obliged to appear in the field, whenever called upon; and their quota is from twenty to thirty thousand horse, all paid and maintained by them. But whoever should imagine that this Vassalage amounts to little more than that of the Princes of Germany to the Emperor, would be much mistaken; and here is a proof of it: So long as the Marhatta arms were kept at bay by the success of the English in Decan, the Court of Poonah put up

condition of his joining the troops to his English, and of his being assisting in their expedition. The Colonel, after that junction, conceived the scheme of taking the city of Azim-abad-Gudjrat; and about the end of the year 1190 of the Hedjra, he marched out of Surat, and presenting himself before that city, he at first offered the Marhatta Commanders terms of capitulation for surrendering the place; but this being rejected, he in a little time ruined the walls, and took the place by mere force and by assault; and although it is not customary with the English troops to plunder or to kill after a victory, nevertheless at the capture of this place, there was some plunder made, and some blood shed, whether because the Cáicvar, with his Marhattas, was in their company, or for some other reason that has not transpired. This much is certain that some plunder was committed, and possibly some blood was shed. The Colonel having delivered the city and fortress to Fateh-sing-cáicvar, and established that Prince's government over it, came out and marched forward, resolved to fight another Marhatta army that had come to the assistance of the garrison. But such brilliant successes having spread the renown of the English far and near, did not fail to suscite in their favour a new ally; and this was a Prince called the Rana of Gohud. In a few days his agents arrived at Calcutta, and offered to join the English, but requested at present a small number of troops. The reason of this negotiation was, that the Rana of Gohud, who had this longwhile disputes with the Marhattas, and was always at variance with them, hoped that as the English were now waging war against that nation, he might avail himself of that new power to snatch from his enemies some districts and fortresses of his which they detained this longwhile; after which, he would be ready to shew his gratitude to his new allies, by proving his zeal for their cause. The Governor had too much wisdom and knowledge, not to preceive the utility of an alliance with a great Prince who had money, troops, and dominions; who could afford so much local knowledge of the countries and affairs of the

A. D. 1780.

Ahmed-abad-Gudjrat taken by assault, and sacked and plundered.

The English acquire a new ally, the Radja of Gohud.

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with Modadji-bhosselah's tergiversing conduct, and with his ambiguous connection with that nation; but as soon as peace had taken place, he was sent for at Poonah, threatened with a resumption, and obliged to redeem himself of the corors by which his dominions were in arrears to the treasury, by making concessions, and paying down one coror of rupees, or a milion and-a-quarter sterling.

Marhattas upon whom his dominions bordered; and who offered himself to the English as a guide; for his country became of course a new conquest, that cost him nothing. So that the Governor looking upon such an event as a favour from above, sent to his assistance Captain Palmer, with three regiments of Talingas. This officer was accompanied by Tefez-zul-hosséin-qhan, who had once been tutor to Mirza-saadet-aaly, second son to Shudjah-ed-döwlah(80), and was now sent in quality of an agent from the Governor, to gain the Rana's heart. The two envoys being arrived at Gohud, took possession of the castle, under pretence of lodging themselves; and under the mask of friendship and a visit, they kept him prisoner and surrounded by their forces.

The English take possession of Gohud.

But before we continue the history of that expedition, we must take a view of some other parts of Decan. In consequence of the necessity of some affairs of my own, and of the tyranny exercised by destiny, I was obliged to make an application to Calcutta, and of course to take a journey to Bengal; and it was in the year 1194. On my arrival at Moorshood-abad and at Calcutta, I learned with a little more detail what concerned the Decan, from the principal men of those cities; and as I was actually writing the rough draft of this book in that journey, I used to insert occasionally in it, whatever I heard worth notice and credit. It amounts to this: That the Grandees of the Court of Poona and Satara, who now govern the dominions of the Sahu Radja and of Ram Rajah(81), finding the English bent on the destruction of their Empire, had united together, and had invited over, on one hand, Fateh-sing-càicvar, who had already joined the English; and on the other, the sons of Rago-bhosselah, who from Aaly-verdy-qhan's time, had ever been at peace with the rulers of Bengal, and had now by the means of Mr. Elliot's and Mr. Anderson's embassy and negotiation, renewed that peace and entered into a new treaty of friendship and amity with Governor Hushtin. These were now called upon by

A.D. 1780-81.

The Marhattas join together, to make an effort against the English.

(80) This Saadet-aaly lives now at Banaress, where the English, after having recommended him to a pension of four lacs a year, from Assef-ed-döwlah, Navvab or King of A8d, keep him there as a Bugbear to frighten occasionally his elder brother into good manners.

(81) These are two of the first Emperors of the Marhatta Empire.

dint of threats to unite with the others; and they agreed to an union of concerns at last. It was about the middle of the year 1194, at which time Colonel Godard had already discovered Fateh-sing-cáicvar's defecion; and as he found, on the other hand, that the rainy season was coming, he became tired of a kind of warfare that had no end, and served only to render the difficulties and necessities of his army greater and greater. With this view he returned to Surat. That city was only a few days journey. But the enemy eternally hanging on his rear, it cost him full forty or fifty days fighting, to cut his way through an hostile country; and this he did with a deal of steadiness and activity. At last he arrived in that city, where he put his troops into quarters of refreshment. But whilst he was preparing all the necessaries for commencing early another campaign, Fateh-sing-cáicvar, who had got so easily and so cheaply possession of the G8djrat, but had now become envious of Colonel Godard's prosperity, put himself at the head of his own forces, and took his station in the districts which originally had been in his possession. Whilst such a change was taking place in G8djrat, Chimnadji, another Marhatta General, who was nephew to Rago-dji-bhosselah, having listened to the instigations and menaces of the Ministers of Poona(82), set cut with a good army from the Great-Náigpoor, his capital, and marched

(82) To give some idea of those Ministers, which many might be apt to call barbarians, it must be remembered that they consented to let go from Vargam an army of English, which they had beaten and defeated, and which they might have kept besieged until it should have perished to the last man. Instead of that, they gave it a pass, and an escorte. We must likewise read some of those letters written by people which are called Idolators in Europe. Here is the beginning of a long one written to Governor Hastings, the first April. 1776, by Sircaram-baboo, Prime Minister of the Court of Poona. It is a Barahman that speaks.

"The all-wise Creator and Protector of the Universe, formed man superior to "all other of his creatures, and endowing him with reason, made him lord over all; "and by the gift of speech, adorned by the gem of veracity, put into his hands the "authority over all the terrestrial world. It is consequently the duty of all Magistrates, "and all those invested with authority, to provide for and protect the people of God "entrusted to their care. As this is not to be affected without apparent means, "wise men have established the mode of corresponding with each other by letters "and messengers. It was therefore my earnest desire to establish such a corres-"pondence with you; and although certain weak and little minds considered this "design as the effect of timorousness, yet in the sight of wisdom it will be regarded "as a proof of a great soul."

towards Djagennat and Cateck. There he took up his winter quarters, whilst his agents were now repairing to Calcutta, and professing amity and friendship to the English cause. The Governor, who did not trust altogether to their professions, opposed an army of English to the Marhatta army in Cateck; and stationed troops besides at all the passes in the mountains, where those enemies had used to pour into the provinces of Bengal and Bahar. These troops had orders to oppose force by force, should they make any motion that way(83).

Some account of Háider-náic.

But as Háider-náic is now going to cut so great a figure in our history, it is proper to part with our subject for a while, in order to give some account of that extraordinary man. Háider-náic originally was a Commander in the service of the French in Decan, in which he commenced by serving as a Náic, which signifies a Commander of ten or fifteen men. By degrees he rose to the offices of Djemaat-dar, Soobadar Comidan (Commandant,) which last is the highest title of command to which one can attain amongst the nations of hat-wearers. What appears very singular, is that notwithstanding that superior station, the surname of Náic stuck to him ever after. In the sequel he served the Radjahs of Decan, made himself a character, and acquired much power; and becoming famous little by little, he was taken into the service of the Radja of Malavar(84), where in a little time,

(83) Modaji-bhosselah, who would not fall out with the Court of Poona, whose feudatory he was, sent an army of twenty-five thousand horse upon the frontires of Bengal. And as he would not fall out with the English, neither, from whom he received a pension, he sent that army by so circuitous a road, that instead of two months and-a-half, it did not arrive upon the frontiers of Bengal, but after a seven months journey, that is, just at the very beginning of the rains, which always last with violence for six full months. On the other hand, as he had a much greater liking to English rupees, than to English Cannon-balls, he availed himself of their fears and anxieties, to squeeze from them under two or three plausible pretences a contribution of about two-and-thirty lacs; a sum which the English had the wisdom to think very inferior to two or three hundred lacs of damage, which those merciless freebooters might have easily done.

(84) The author who had no better memoirs upon the affairs of Decan than hearsays, has mistaken the case. Háider-náic did not take service with the Radja of Málavar, but with the Radja or King of Mayssor, whose little country, exceedingly well peopled and cultivated, as are all Hindoo countries, yields no less than a Coror of rupees a year, or a million and-a-quart sterling. The truth is that all Hindostanies have but confused notions of any difference betwixt the Malavar and the Máysoor.

he fell out with that Prince's Divan, who according to the custom of that country, disposed of the revenues and expenditures of that Prince, and directed all his Councils absolutely. Háider-náic, who despised that Minister's pusillanimity, as much as he confided on his own valour and talents, had the boldness to fall upon him in broad day-light, and to kill his rival; after which he took possession of his office. From that day he acted with an absolute sway in every thing, but still with the policy of leaving the Radja alive, and in his usual employment. That Prince is still alive; and whenever his keeper thinks is proper, he is produced in public as an ancient relic; at which time he never fails to pay him every mark of respect and veneration. After his establishing in this manner his authority over the Malavar, he thought proper to march to the assistance of Nizam-aaly-qhan, son to Nizam-el-mulk, Sovereign of the Decan, who having fallen out with the English, and with Mahmed-aaly-qhan, Viceroy of Arcat, had marched at the head of an army, and given them a great battle, in which he was assisted by Háider-nâic, with his person and a body of troops. But the English having obtained the victory, Nizam-aaly-qhan in despair of his defeat, obstinately remained on the field of battle, resolved rather to perish in the field than to survive his defeat. It was at this moment he was descried by Háider-nâic from afar, who being informed of his despair and resolution, galloped up to him, and made use of force and violence to turn his elephant about, and to make him quit the field of battle. Nizam-aaly-qhan consented at last, but told him that it was under condition that he (Háider-nâic) would provide for his obtaining his revenge of that defeat. The other promised it; and really after having spent some time in making his preparatives, he turned about, and fell on the English; or else, he let Nizam-aaly-qhan depart, and then in a few days he turned about, faced the English again; but was defeated and obliged to fly for life. Either from some particular emergency, or from the concourse of destiny, he was obliged to turn his back, and to return to his own country. But the English, bent on his pursuit, arrived in his dominions, where they took, one after another, whatever fortress opposed their passage; and after having established contributions in the country, they used to proceed forward. These many sieges having given him time to collect his

resources, he quickly repaired to a strong fortress of his, deposed there most of his baggage, and having taken out of it as much provisions and ammunition as would serve for some days all his troops, he turned about, and by rapid marches, he fell suddenly upon the English, and gave them a great defeat. But as the vanquished army continued in a body, and after having been drawn up in battle array, wanted to renew the combat, he at once disappeared from before them, without their being able to know any thing of his motions; and having marched by roads which nobody suspected, he suddenly made his appearance before Mendradj (Madras), which was empty of troops, and where there were no preparatives made against his coming; and he surrounded it on all sides. The Governor and principal men seeing no resource at hand, set open the gate of amity, went to meet him, and made a treaty with him, by which the troubles ended by a peace. But this peace having afforded some repose to Háider-náic, he returned to his own country, and diligently employed himself in disciplining his troops, and in providing every implement necessary for war and conquest. After a length of time had elapsed, a dispute arose between the Marhattas and himself, in which he was shamefully beaten, and obliged to fly to his country, where he soon repaired his losses. The Marhattas meanwhile overawed by his superiority of genius, and intimidated by his art of finding resources, united with Nizam-aaly-qhan, and undertook to demolish his power, and to ruin him totally. For this purpose they joined twenty-five thousand horse of their own, to some thousand more, which Nizam-aaly-qhan had sent them under the command of Caia-qhan-dhonsa; and they made an irruption into his dominions. Háider-náic finding that he could not stand against such a force, abstained for a whole year from encountering the enemy. But yet he constantly kept at the distance of some miles, without losing sight of him, unless he sometimes chose to make a stay; and then he was always provided with such a numerous body of pioneers, and such an immense artillery, as enabled him at any time to fortify a good post, and to tarry there; nor did his enemies dare to attack him in such a fortified camp. Nevertheless with all this good countenance, he wisely concluded that in time, his country would be ruined by such a warfare; and he sought his safety in a treaty of peace, by which he gave a deal of money to the

He fights the English with a variety of successes, but in general with advantage.

Marhattas, to Nizam-aaly-qhan, and to the latter's General, Calaqhan; and in this manner he extricated himself from his difficulties.

After this peace, he passed ten or twelve years in rest and tranquillity; but spent this interval in making mighty preparatives. He sent Embassadors with rich and curious presents to Kerim-qhan-zendi(85), then master absolute of all Iran; and these in their master's name requested leave to raise in his dominions some thousand men of cavalry. The permission being soon granted, the Envoys, who were furnished with large sums of money, soon brought from thence some thousand Persian Moghuls, all young vigorous men, commanded by proper officers of their own. On the other hand, he opened a correspondence with the French of Mauris, an island over against his country, and by their means he opened another correspondence with the Ministers of the French kingdom. Thither also he sent curious and rich presents. Meanwhile he imported into his country a number of excellent horses, which he got mounted by Bar-ghirs, or men which he paid(86) a part, as it is customary in India. These he disciplined in a manner particular to himself, teaching some thousands of them to form their ranks, and without breaking them, to face about and attack on a full gallop some thousands of others opposite them. He also obliged the Moghul and Indian troopers that were in his service, to be exercised every day for nine hours together, in the evolutions and rules of moving and fighting in order; insomuch that he rendered them expert in their business, and capable of any service. To this numerous body of cavalry, he added seventy thousand musqueteers,

Sets up a cavalry of Persians and other foreigners, which he disciplines after a method of his own.

(85) Kerim-qhan was his name; Zendi, that of his tribe, which was a tribe originally Iranian, living in the Lorestan, a mountainous tract, in the north of Pars. There are other tribes of Iranian origin, settled in the middle and southern parts of Iran or Persia; whereas the Turkish tribes, that furnish almost all the soldiers of that Empire, dwell in the northern parts of it, from west to east. The Sefi family, that has just become extinct in our days, was of a Turkish tribe settled in Ader-bäy-djan or Media; and Nadyr-shah (*alias* Tahmasp-cooly-qhan) who put an end to it, was an Asshar, of that division of that tribe, which is settled in Qhorassan. It was remarked of Kerim-qhan, that although a Monarch absolute, and a conqueror, he never struck money in his own name, but only under that general one, of *Sahab-zeman*, the reigning Prince.

(86) In India the trooper finds himself in horse, arms, and accoutrements. The Bar-ghirs or burthen-bearers, find themselves in arms, but are found in horse and accoutrements by the State.

armed with flint locks, and which he disciplined in the European manner. This mighty army was followed by a train of seven hundred pieces of artillery, mounted and served exactly in the English and French manner. After spending some years in these preparations, he became so conscious of his own strength, that he sallied forth, and conquered both from the Malavar Princes, and from the Marhattas, an extent of ground that yielded a revenue of about four Corors a year(87). His army accoutred and furnished abundantly with every necessary, exactly as in Europe, is kept under the strictest order and discipline. They say that his eldest son, who is now his best General, does not dare to deviate a hair's breadth from any of his orders; so far are any others from daring it themselves. One day he commanded him to be on horseback seven hours after sun set, and to go to such a spot. It happened that although he mounted at the proper time, it was however after a short delay. But that short delay was taken up; that very moment he sent for him back, and made him undergo the punition of the whip. Nor was he less exact in other respects. On observing that the Moghul and Persian Officers in his army, were perpetually fighting amongst themselves, he sent for them, and represented to them in a moderate tone of voice, and in a friendly manner, "That as he "had procured them from afar, and they had cost him already "an immense sum of money, they ought to reserve themselves "for his service, instead of killing and slaughtering each other "as they did every day; he added, that as they were strangers "in this country, they ought to live upon good terms with the "Indians, and by all means upon terms of tenderness and love "with their own countrymen." But this friendly reprimand had no effect; and they went on in their usual way, above all, making no account of the Indians, and endlessly quarrelling and fighting amongst themselves, and against the others. Two or three times he repeated his reprimand, and two or three times he repeated it in vain. At last he grew tired, and one day he ordered two or three of those disobedient officers, to be seized and made fast to an elephant's feet, where they were trampled to death. From that day they returned to order and obedience; and having tucked up the hem of obedience into the sash of zeal

Provides a numerous infantry disciplined after the European manner; and an immense artillery mounted and served in the English and French model.

His severity to his own son, considered as a Military officer.

(87) Five millions sterling.

and submission, they are now brought under a strict discipline, and are at all times ready for immediate action. To defray such expenses, he has got possession of immense treasures, amassed from ancient times by the Princes of Decan for several ages past; nor is there in all Hindostan a power comparable to his in wealth, strength, splendour, discipline, and number of good troops. However, all this I mention upon general report; for after all, God only knows whether I am mistaken in that assertion. Háider-náic finding himself able to assert his rights, conceived now the design of recovering several territories which the Marhattas had wrested some years before from him; and he sent them word, that if they returned quietly those countries, and made a treaty with him, he would assist them with all his forces in their quarrel with the English; else, they must prepare for war. The Court of Poona which was now sensible of the importance of such an ally at such a critical time, concluded that it was as happy an offer as they might wish for; and having soon agreed to his demands, they proposed a treaty with him on these two conditions: The first, that he should himself come over to their assistance, and fight by their side. The second, that if his affairs did not permit him to come so far, then that he should invade the province of Arcat, carry ruin and devastation in every part of it, and keep in continual alarms, the armies and power of the English. Háider-náic, finding it impossible and inexpedient to join the Marhattas, accepted the second condition.

Gives the law to the Marhattas, with whom he makes a treaty.

As soon as this treaty had been concluded and executed, he prepared to fulfil it on his part. In the middle of the year 1194 of the Hedjra, he invaded the province of Arcat with an army that covered the plains, like the waves of an angry sea, and with a train of artillery that had no end. Being arrived at about forty or fifty cosses from the territory of Mendradj, he stopped there, and suddenly dispatched a strong body of troops under his son, with orders to push hastily to the capital. This General arriving unexpectedly, made himself master of that city, as well as of the palace of Mahmed-aaly-qhan, the Viceroy of the province, together with whatever they contained. They say that he did not offer much injury or damage to the inhabitants of the city, but that he ruined the gardens and country-houses

A.D, 1780

He invades the Carnatic, and pushes to the very gates of Mendradj.

belonging to the English, and made prisoners those he found there. Gen. Monro, the same who had heretofore beaten the Vezir of Hindostan at Bacsar, when he was only a Major, was now General, and appointed to the defence of the factory and fortress of Mendradj. He came out of the walls with ten battalions of Talingas, and sixteen pieces of cannon, furnished with every necessary, such as ball and powder; and he intended to fight. But Háider-náic hearing of this, wrote to his son to retreat from thence, and to draw the English army into the plain, and meanwhile to retrograde himself gradually towards his father. The son having obeyed punctually, Gen. Monro put his army in battle array, and having ordered a regiment with some Captains, and Lieutenants, and Ensigns, and some Sergeants, with two pieces of cannon, and necessaries to advance forward as usual, at two or three cosses distance from the main body, he followed himself with his whole army; and in this manner he advanced ten or twelve cosses farther from the fortress. Háider-náic hearing of this, sent a body of troops under the command of his son, with orders first to charge the regiment in question, and then to send intelligence every moment, and meanwhile to stand ready to execute further commands. The son did as he was commanded; and he attacked the regiment with so much vigour, that the Commander of it, after having bravely stood his ground, and received the enemy with a fire of musketry and cannon, sent word to the General, that the combat was drawing to a length; that his numbers were thinned; the enemy numerous; and that he wanted immediate relief. As the distance was great, and one-quart of the day was already spent, when the combat commenced, it was noon before the trooper with the intelligence arrived; and some time more being spent before the General could fix his mind on a resolution, there remained only one-third of the day, when he sent four regiments to the assistance of the first, two of which were European white soldiers, new landed from Europe, the others being Indian Talingas. But it was evening before they could arrive. The five regiments being joined, passed the night on the spot. On this intelligence, Háider-náic sent his son-in-law with fresh troops to his son's assistance; and these recommenced the attack at day-break. The English were worsted;

and finding that their General had erred, in not marching up with his whole army, they thought it expedient to retreat to the main body; and they commenced a retreat, but always in good order, and always turning about, and always facing their pursuers. The enemy continued pressing on all sides, and perpetually attacking with rockets, cannon-balls, muskets and bombs; and they had already burned the plants of the lives of numbers of English soldiers, when they were likewise favoured by fortune. It happened that one of the English carts of powder and ammunition took fire. In an instant the whole provision blew up, and carried away such vast numbers of men, which happened to be near or at no great distance, that those that survived the disaster, proved not numerous enough to continue the combat. The enemy having surrounded them, sent them promises of quarter. The English who are a courageous nation, full of military pride and firmness of heart, refused to surrender; upon which an order came to put them to the sword; and the poor souls were all hacked to pieces(88). It happened that three or four men escaped from the slaughter, and reached General Monro's encampment; but their report struck such a panic in his mind, that this General, whose courage had never been doubted to that day, no sooner heard the detail of the slaughter, than he lost his wonted firmness, and betrayed every mark of fear, trepidation and dismay. The report goes that he passed the night without going to bed. And that at day-break he mounted a fleet horse, and without stopping anywhere, or giving himself a moment to breathe, he retired within the fortress of Mendradj. The forlorn army following in much distress and idsorder retired into the fortress likewise; and the victorious in full pursuit of the runaways, entered the city of Mendradj, which they mastered: so that there remained to the English nothing but the fortress of that name. They say that in a few days after, the fortress of Arcât, the capital of Mahmed-aaly-qhan's dominions, who was the Viceroy of the Carnatec, was taken by the enemy, as well as that of Pool-churry, which last

Beats the English.

The English pursued to the very gates of Mendradj.

(88) The author is mistaken. All those troops surrendered, and were taken prisoners; and even then Col. Bailie was at the head of seven hundred English, and of three thousand Sipahis. Nor did the English want either courage or numbers; they wanted powder, and were exhausted by three days' continual fighting against troops continually renewed.

had been lately taken by the English from the French; and as in times of calamity, a misfortune never comes alone, it happened that a difference arising between the English and the Talingas of the garrison of Is-hac-patan (Vizagapatam), these last who were numerous, fell upon the small number of the English, and killing some of them, imprisoned the others; and thus that place also came cheaply in Háider-náic's power.

General Monro having quitted the field in so disgraceful a manner, did not fail to be accused both by friends and foes, who covered him with shame. But this news had not yet reached Calcutta, where, meanwhile the fire of dissension, which had been raging with so much violence between the Governor-General and Mr. Francis, had now risen to such a height, that from bad words, and disputes, they had proceeded to fighting with guns; and at the end of Redjeb or the beginning of Shaaban, both parties according to the established custom of the nation, went out by themselves, and fought with pistols. The Governor, being befriended by destiny, came off harmless; but Mr. Francis was wounded. As he was predestined to live a great deal more, the pistol ball, although it entered at his right side, did neither break the bone, nor even rend the curtain; it stopped between bone and flesh; and in a few days he was cured. It was justly at this time that General Coote, a King's servant, who had succeeded General Clavering, as Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in India, arrived from Lucknow, whilst Mr. Doocreel, (Mr. Ducarell), arrived from Bardvan. These two men, who had connections with both parties, interposed their good offices, and became mediators of forgiveness and peace between the Governor and Mr. Francis. They brought them together, and made them take their seats at the Council-board; and it was about this time that the intelligence of Monro's defeat arrived at Calcutta. The letters mentioned that the enemy grew daily more powerful, and that General Monro had fled from the field of battle.

A duel between the Governor and Mr. Francis.

News came likewise of General Godard's having come out of Surat, and of his now besieging the town of Bessi (Bassain), which is one of the strongest fortresses in the Marhatta dominions. It was likewise at this time that an Englishman of some consequence arrived in a Packet-ship from Bombay, which means in English a Courier-ship; and God knows what news he

Colonel Godard besieges Bessi.

brought with him. He found the Governor-General with all the principal English of Calcutta overwhelmed with sorrow, but busy in contriving expedients to raise a great sum of money, and to form an army. The Governor after borrowing upon interest, from the wealthy Bengalies of Calcutta, so great a sum as one coror of rupees, engaged General Coote to repair to Mendradj, and to take the command of the army there.

It was in those times of calamity and distress, I arrived at Calcutta, where I paid a visit to the Governor-General. That Viceroy, who has a vast fund of innate goodness in his nature, condoled much with me, and promised that I would one day see the accomplishment of my wishes; but he was so overwhelmed with public business, that he could not afford to give me many hearings, or to remember his promise. As to General Coote, he both objected to the scarcity of men and of money, until both being remedied, he consented to go to Mendradj with three or four battalions that had been brought together; and these being joined to the six or seven regiments now shut up in the fortress of that name, the whole with some other troops then in those parts, would form a body of ten or twelve regiments: a force which was thought sufficient to fight Háider-niác in the field. For the English trusted much to the goodness of their troops and to the talents of their Commander; nor do they admit any interference of the deity in the affairs of this world, but attribute their repeated victories, and numerous conquests, to the good conduct of their officers, and to the bravery of their troops; nor do they ascribe the defeats given to General Carnac, and to General Monro, to anything else but to the misconduct of those two men, whom they loaded with imprecations and obloquy, as the principal authors of those disasters that had disgraced their nation. There is no doubt, indeed, but that wisdom and prudence bear a great sway in the direction of the affairs of the world; but not so much neither, as that the Original Mover of all events, He that has created and bestowed that wisdom and prudence, should remain idle himself, and as it were out of office; or that the affairs of the world, for want of apparent solidity and permanency, should be wholly and entirely in the power and disposal of human wisdom, and foresight. Be it as it may, General Coote, who commanded in chief all the troops in

the Company's service in India, and had under his care all the affairs of war, as his particular province, consented to repair to Mendradj. Urged by a thorough sense of the critical situation of affairs both in Mendradj and in Decan, he embarked, in the
A. D. 1780. middle of the blessed month of Ramazan, of the year 1194, on board of a ship(89), and repaired to that fortress. As to myself, perceiving that the Governor could not pay any attention to my affairs, and that I had no chance for any assistance at Calcutta, I returned to Moorshood-abad, being very uneasy on account of a threatened invasion from the Marhattas of Cateck, and on account of my having left my children and family like so many forlorn souls, in a city that had no Governor and no Ruler, that might partake of the distresses of families, and watch over their safety. For both the Nazem(90), and his Lieutenant were perfectly free from such cares; nor could much be expected from the English themselves, who had in most places bestowed the offices of Rulers and Lieutenants on some principal Indians, who trusting to their interest with their masters, paid little attention to the situation of the people of this land. I arrived at Moorshood-abad the seventeenth of Shavval, and remained there till the 25th Zilhidj, of that same year; and all the while I was hearing accounts that differed from each other. Nevertheless whatever was most confirmed, has been inserted in these sheets; and it amounts to this much: that General Mouro having, as has been already said, retired in that shameful manner within the fortress of Mendradj, had become a standing stock for the shafts of reproach from every one of his countrymen, as well as from the enemy. But as Háider-náic's troops had taken possession of everything without the walls, and even of the city itself, as far as the precincts of the fortress, the English shut up within the place, resolved to fall by surprise upon those bodies of the enemy that were encamped close to their walls, in hopes of making an impression upon them For this purpose there came out of the fortress at

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(89) It was September, a time exceedingly unfit and dangerous for going out of the Ganges, and still more so for navigating to Madrast by sea, unless it might be a circuitous navigation of two or three months; and yet the General was so miraculously lucky, as to fetch Madrast in a fortnight.

(90) Mubarec-ed-dŏwlah, and Mahmed-reza-qhan, his Náib or Deputy.

day-break, nay before day-break, two battalions of Grandils (Grenadiers), which word signifies in their language, picked men, tall and stout, and of tried bravery. But as Háider-náic is fully acquainted with the particular turn of genius of the English in war matters, and is indefatigable, and always thoroughly informed of the motions of his enemies, he never suffers his people to be supine, or off their guard, or negligent in their duty. His troops therefore proved to be ready for the enemy's reception. A furious combat commenced; and troops being continually sent to the assistance of those engaged, the two battalions in question were surrounded, and finding no way open for a retreat, they continued fighting heroically, until they all rushed into eternity, leaving to Háider-náic's troops a full possession of the victory. It was after this disgrace that the news of General Coote's coming became public. General Monro seemed struck with the intelligence; and fearing for both his life and character, should that Commander land unexpectedly at Mendradj, he resolved to exert himself in recovering his honor. With this view, he came out with all the troops he could muster, leaving only such a small number as might guard the gates, and the Company's magazines. He had with him a great train of cannon and mortars, with every necessary for some important expedition. On the other side, Háider-náic's son, with an army of disciplined troops, and a good train of artillery, advanced to meet the enemy, and a mighty battle ensued. But again destiny would have it so, that Háider-náic's son gained a complete victory; and General Monro being vanquished again and defeated, was forced to retreat within the fortress with the shattered remains of his army, where probably, he is safe from an attack. For it is reported that Háider-náic does not care to fight against walls and fortresses, and has been heard more than once to say, that it would be a folly to expose the lives of so many brave men for the sake of acquiring the possession of three or four thousand yards of ground; and that, provided God Almighty would give him the open country, and victory against the English, he did not care to dispute walls and brick-bats with them. This much is certain, that he must have known how little they could hold in a place destitute of every thing. He knew that as the fortress of Mendradj is seated by the sea-side, it has no

sweet water at all; and although provisions of it are daily imported from abroad, it was impossible that they should answer the necessities of twenty or thirty thousand persons of all professions and sexes, which were shut up within its walls, and that too for a space of three or four months. Add to this that *Mendradj is not really a fortress(91); it is only a wall drawn* round the habitations of an infinity of merchants and other numerous people residing there. These men daily import their own water from without the walls, where there is a city apart. But even supposing that in times of full peace, they should have formed an aqueduct or a rill that should carry a supply of water up to their habitations, still such a contrivance would prove of little avail, as an approach to that rill is now opposed and full of danger. Now as it is certain that they can no more import provisions than their water, it becomes altogether incomprehensible, how that multitude can have subsisted all this while without suffering every extremity(92). It is a pity that the English do not mention such matters, and the like details publicly. They never talk of them to such people as we; and I cannot get any sure intelligence from any one else. But for that reservedness of theirs, we should have set down all those events with a full detail.

It has been already related that the Governor, from the very first arrival of General Clavering and his party, had found it out of his power to come to an understanding with them. For although now and then both sides listened to the persuasion of common friends, who forcibly pointed out the inconveniencies of dissension, and the advantages of concert, so as to seem inclined to unite together; yet such was the difference of tempers, and such the diversity of interests, that no union and no concert could take place. Even of late, that is some time after the duel had happened, some appearance of peace, and even some union, had been perceived between the Governor and Mr. Francis, on the mediation of General Coote and Mr. Doocreel; but after the General's

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(91) This is a mistake. *Madrast*, although very inferior to Bombay, and still more so to Calcutta, is nevertheless a fortress betwixt the second and third order.

(92) They subsisted, however, by the endless Squadrons perpetually forwarded from Bengal—Squadrons that carried live stock, as well as grain, and salt provisions—the Governor, who gave himself no rest on that head, having exerted himself in supporting Madrast and its territory, which he considered as the outwork of Bengal

departure for Mendradj, matters took to their former course. For Mr. Francis wished that some arrangements might take place, to not one of which the Governor would listen. The first was, the sending back Mr. Brishtoo to his office of Lucknow, with his former appointment and authority, for both which, repeated orders had come from Europe. The second, that the Divanship of the Calcutta department should be given to Ram-chund-rây, instead of Ganga-govind, who now holds it. The third was, that Nand-comar's son should be put at the head of the Qhalissah or Revenue-office. There were some other demands, to none of which the Governor would consent. He had of late met with several new subjects of discontent; insomuch that his enmity had risen to a height.

But whilst there was so much dissension and enmity at home, great misfortunes had befallen the English arms abroad. Two or three veteran armies, with a number of renowned Commanders, had been destroyed; and an immense sum of money having been spent in those expeditions, the Company's treasury was become so empty, that Government had been obliged to have recourse to a loan, which was obtained from the Bengalies; and all that, at the very time that the Supreme Council were forbidden from making any new conquests. It was from such events, and from such formal disobediences of orders, that Mr. Francis who brought them into one point of view, thought he could prove a great body of misdemeanours and mismanagement in the Governor's conduct. He now re-digested the whole into a methodical writing, which he got bound like a book; and after having obtained its being registered, he thought himself strong enough with such a piece, and he departed this country at the end of Zilcaad, of the year 1194 of the Hedjrah. He was attended by a number of gentlemen, A. D. 17³ all dissatisfied with the Governor, who all repaired to London, which is the Capital of the dominions of the Kings of England. By this departure he freed the Governor from a troublesome antagonist. For hitherto the latter had been at some trouble in managing the Government in an absolute manner, although he took all the risks upon himself; but now that the whole Council is reduced to his own person, and to that of Mr. Wheeler's, he is become sole master of binding and unbinding, of appointing, and dismissing in every department, without either controul or dispute.

Time only can show in what manner shall e ' these dissensions, as well as these troubles which are just cc nencing; and time alone shall determine what completion s schemes are likely to have. Then shall we know someth g of what is to become of the poor injured people of the land, who now have no other friend and no other comforter but God Almighty. As to myself, having set out from Moorshood-abad the 26th Zilhidj; and in that same year having stopped some time at Radjemahal for some particular business, and especially for performing the rites of the ten days of *Moharrem*; on the ninth of that same month, *I heard from a person* of consequence and credit, that General Coote, having joined the troops he had brought with him, to those he found at Mendradj, had set out from that fortress with a great train of artillery; and having given battle to the troops of Háider-náic, he had been beaten as had already been General Monro, and forced to retire within the walls, without which Háider-náic is now master of every thing, throughout the province of Arcat, and up to the walls of Mendradj.

Nor did the affairs of the English wear a more favourable aspect in Hindostan, where the troops, which had been carried by Captain Palmer to the assistance of the Ranna of Gohud, having lodged themselves for their own conveniency in the fortress of that name, turned their thoughts towards recovering some other strongholds, and places which had been in the possession of the Rana's(93) ancestors. That Commander put to the Radja a number of questions about every spot and every place in that region. The Ranna answered: "That one of the principal "possessions of his ancestors, was the fortress of Goaliar, a "place renowned for strength all over Hindostan, and which the "Emperors of the family of Babr(94) had seized by force, having "maintained their conquest by a superiority of power. That "from that time it had belonged to them, being called by

(93) The word Ranna signifies more than Radja or King, although it comes from the same root. It is an appellative, by which the Radja of Gohud designs himself, as does the Radja of Chitor, his neighbour.

(94) The reader knows that although the *reigning family of Hindostan*, descends in a direct line from Timur, or Timur-lang, the conqueror of that country, yet it is better known under the name of Babr, great-grandson of that conqueror, as it is he who first thought of leaving his domiaions in Euzbeg-tartary (*alias* Tooran) to settle in the less difficult regions of Hindostan.

"excellence the Imperial fortress. That in process of time as "the Empire came to lose of its power, and the Marhattas to "increase theirs, it happened that the Governor and Garrison "finding themselves neglected by the Ministers and Grandees "of the Court, as well as reduced very low for want of pay and "necessaries, thought it high time to listen to the offers of the "Marhattas, to whom they consented to surrender the fortress on "condition of being paid the whole of their arrears; and thus "having received the money in exchange for the fortress, they "had surrendered it to a body of Marhatta troops. That from "that day it had remained in their possession; a transaction "which was fresh in every one's mind, as it had happened in "the time of Ahmed-shah, son to the Emperor Mahmed-shah, "of the Babr family." This was the information given by the Rana. Now as that place is only at about thirteen cosses from Gohud, and, it had been constantly an eye-sore to the Gentoo Prince, he was thoroughly informed of every corner of it, and of every manner of approaching it, as well as completely apprised of a particular path, hidden by the rock, and quite out of sight, where the rampart was lower than any elsewhere. Of all this he gave information to the English, and added a number of men who had a local knowledge of every part within and without the walls. The English Commander formed his project upon those lights; and having with great secrecy prepared a number of ladders proportionate to the height of the wall, and meanwhile spread a report of an attack being intended against another fort, he set out from Gohud, the place of his residence, stopped at about five or six cosses distance; and from thence at the beginning of the night, he posted his army, and with a proper number of light troops which he furnished with ladders, he marched forwards. At the end of the night, being arrived at the spot he intended, he placed his ladders, and availing himself of the neglect and supineness of the garrison, he got upon the wall, and commenced firing at the garrison, which was thrown into the greatest consternation. For one or two thousand of such troops, being once got within the fortress, were by all means an overmatch for any ten thousand of such slothful fellows as composed the garrison. They say that the Marhatta Governor, either out of despair and shame, or for fear of being called to

an account, killed himself; and there is also another report, that this surprise had been concerted with the ancient Imperial Commander, who dissatisfied with his not being paid his arrears, had only dissembled his resentment, and had remained within the fortress, until he could find some opportunity of introducing an enemy. It was in this manner that so famous a fortress fell in a twinkle, in the hands of the English, who took care to put a garrison in it(95). I was in Calcutta, when news came of the capture of Goaliar; and I heard with my own ears the discharges of cannon, by which that happy event was announced to the public. It was there I learned also that Maha-dji-sindia, one of the principal feudatory rulers of the Marhatta Empire, who has the absolute government of the provinces of Malva and Oodjéin, as well as of the castle of Goaliar, hearing of General Godard's being gone to Surat,

(95) That Prince, like all the Zemindars of India, whether greater or lesser, had connections with a tribe of highway men, who having discovered a hidden path by which they climbed every night up the rock, and from thence up the wall, were let in by some of their associates settled within the fortress. And it was over that same path that the English, with such guides at their head, found means to scramble over the rock and to surprise the place. And it is observable that the impregnable Goliar has always been taken through treachery, or by surprise. The fortress of Goaliar is seated on a rock, of seven or eight miles in extent, in which there are woods arable, pasture, lakes and ponds, and everything requisite to furnish, for years together, to the necessities of a garrison. All this is surrounded by a wall and towers thirty feet high, that leave betwixt the foot of the fortification and the brink of the rock, a berme of about ten or twenty feet in breadth, surrounded by a parapet, over which the plain below is looked at the frightful depth of two or three hundred feet. The rock, which stands single and insulated, raises abruptly from the plain, and is everywhere cliffy, and were not naturally so, is cut perpendicular with the chisel. Nor is there any way of approaching unseen, that strange fortification, but by a path hidden by the rock, which by a very difficult and very laborious ascent rises obliquely, until it lands you at the foot of a berme of thirty feet perpendicular; and it is over that berme that the wall itself rises at ten feet distance. The whole is built of an excellent kind of pink stone, and with the magnificent Palaces, and buildings within, it cuts a most superb appearance. Such kinds of fortresses, after all, are not uncommon in India; there may be seventy or eighty of them. Rhotas in Bengal, Assir and Döwlet-abad in Decan, Gondavir and Condapilly in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam, Gandicotta and Gingi in the Carnateck, are all of the same kind. However it must be observed here, that this very difficult and very dangerous piece of service, was performed by Captain Popham, an officer who acquired a great character in those wars, and not by Captain Palmer, who although a man of merit himself, happened to be then upon a different command.

to take his winter quarters there, had set out in the height of the rains in the year 1194, and had passed that difficult season in that country, without it being known whether he intended in the sequel to fight General Godard, who was to besiege the fortress of Bessi (Bassein), or whether he would turn his thoughts towards recovering Goaliar, from the hands of the English; or rather would think it better to make a diversion against them, by invading the provinces of Atava and Corrah and Ilah-abad. Some others, however, conjectured that he would turn his arms against the English troops about Gohud, and especially against that body commanded by Colonel Camac, who having taken his route through the mountains in the height of the rainy season, had invaded the provinces of Malva and Oodgéin, and made great progresses. Notwithstanding all these, the English came to be tired of this warfare, both on account of the immensity of the charges, and of the difficulty of subsisting armies in such countries, where a dearth and a scarcity of provisions is always to be expected; for the Marhattas seldom fight, but only endeavour to cut off an enemy from the necessaries of life, especially from grain and forage, burning and destroying every village and every heap of grain, whether it be their own or of the enemy's country, so as to surround him with a desert, to all intents and purposes. The English, moreover, were disgusted with this war, as there appeared at this very time signs of defection in the Radja of Gohud, and this Gentoo Prince seemed tired of his new allies. This discovery made them take their resolution suddenly, and leaving that Prince to himself, they abandoned the fortresses of Goaliar and Gohud, and expressed a disposition of coming to an accommodation with the Marhattas; nor was Scindia himself averse to such a measure. Reckoning such an event to be a favour of Providence, which came unexpectedly, he slackened the preparations for war, and abstained from committing hostilities: a conduct which was imitated by the English Commanders themselves, who returned towards Corrah and Canpore, and encamped within the frontiers of the province of Ilah-abad, on the hopes of a treaty of peace and amity, which is wished for by both parties. They abstained therefore from hostilities on their side: but peace is not concluded yet, and we must see how matters shall end.

A. D. 1781.

Meanwhile this suspension was the cause of the Rana's ruin. Scindia incensed against him, for his having availed himself of the assistance of the English to snatch out of his hands the fortress of Goaliar, and for his having projected to recover all the countries they detained from him, undertook to ruin and demolish him totally; insomuch that at the time these lines were writing, he had so much reduced the Rana, as to have recovered every spot and every fortress out of his hands, save those of Gohud and Goaliar, which his troops were actually blockading; so that the Prince was reduced to extremities. We must see how matters are likely to end. Scindia possibly had then another project in his head. He had now in his camp a Prince who, having given some trouble to the Governor, had been entirely driven out of his hereditary dominions by the English. This was Radja Chéyt-sing, Zemindar of Banaress, who hoped by the Marhatta's protection and support, to be one day reinstated in his dominions. We shall also see what is likely to be the result of all his endeavours; and as to General Godard, nothing is heard of him, but news that clash with each other. If, in process of time, some congruent intelligence should come to hand, I hope, if I live, to write a full account of his expedition, as well as of that of General Coote's. As to the latter, it is certain that after his departure for Mendradj, the Governor proved so zealous in his cause, that he resolved to send to his assistance another well appointed army by land, through Catec, and Jagernaut and Gandjam and Sicacol. This army was put under the command of Colonel Pearse, Governor of the Citadel of Calcutta, a Commander, renowned, and a great Mathematician. He was satisfied that the Marhattas of Catec would not form any opposition to such a passage, as there subsisted a peace of long standing between that Power and Bengal, which had been renewed of late; and moreover their ambassador affirmed that their master had nothing but friendly intentions for the English. This much is certain, that the rainy season being on the point of setting in, and the troops who were all picked men, which the Governor had assembled from various parts, shewing an eagerness for their departure, he gave his last orders on that subject(96). For

(96) The Marhattas of Catec had tergiversed for sometime in granting a passage to those troops; so that the Governor, who joins in his person courage of mind [illegible]onal courage, sent them orders to go on with their journey, whether the [illegible]atta consented or not.

further precaution, a gentleman from amongst the English advanced forward with the sum of three lacs of rupees, and a variety of rich presents, as curious and costly jewels and precious stuffs. He had taken with him from Calcutta the Ambassador of Chimnadji, nephew to Ragodji-bhossla, Prince of the Oressa, which Chimnadji was now Commander-in-Chief of the Marhatta forces actually in Catek; and he set out for Náigpoor with him. He had letters from the Governor, requesting that out of regard to the amity subsisting between the two Powers no opposition should be made to their passage. Chimnadji having in appearance shewn a friendly disposition, took the presents, but left the finishing of the negotiation to his father's pleasure, who resided at the Great-Náigpoor, his Capital. They say that the Ambassador went thither, exposed his errand, but received for answer, "That it "appeared from the usage offered to the Sovereigns of Bengal, and "of late, to the successors of Shudjah-ed-döwlah, (usage become "notorious) that there was no trust to be reposed in the treaties "and promises of the English; and he added, that the Court of "Náigpoor was, in matters of war and peace, bound by the pleasure "of the Ministry of Poonah; and that whatever party those should "take, would prove a rule by which the Court of Náigpoor would "be bound to abide. That as to affording passage to their people "through the Oressa, the matter did not depend upon us, added "he, but upon the Court of Poonah, who have ordered us to "oppose such a passage, and moreover, to put every thing to fire "and sword in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar; which in-"structions we have not yet complied with, on account of the "several pretences set up by ourselves, for instance, of the treaties "subsisting of old between the Court of Náigpoor and the rulers "of Bengal. Let then the English remain satisfied that we have "not yet put these orders in execution." Such an answer had nothing very encouraging; but the Governor, who had his views. and is not a man to be intimidated, took care to send word, "That as the Princes of Náigpoor had treaties of old standing "with the rulers of Bengal, he did not see what could prevent "their joining the English in the present case, after receiving, "as an earnest, the present sum of three lacs, nor what could "hinder their joining the English troops going to the south, with a body of their own cavalry, who should receive their pay

"regularly every month; the more so, as this sum of three lacs "would be over and above the pension due of old, on account of "the Chö8t." This representation had its effect on Chimnadji, who with his father's consent, accepted the proposal and answered that the case standing as stated, they had no objections, provided the English should discharge fully the sum of one hundred and sixty lacs of arrears due on that Chö8t, together with the interest due thereon, and should henceforward pay the future Chö8t regularly every month; after which they would find the Marhattas of Náigp8r disposed to join their cause. The Governor finding that such expressions and such a tone of voice savoured much of an inimical disposition, declined the tender, and suspended the departure of Colonel Pearce: and the English troops, as before, continued to watch every passage and every inlet that would afford the enemy an entrance into Bengal and Bahar; whilst Chimnadji's troops are spread all over the Oressa, upon their own frontiers, each party seemingly in ambuscade against the other, and waiting only for an opportunity to fall upon him. We may possibly see what seeds of peace and amity the Supreme Disposer of events may have concealed under such appearances of opposition, and hostility, and at what time it shall be His pleasure to bring forth the fruits of union and concord. It has been since said, that the Court of Náigpoor having turned these negotiations to its advantages, had been paid the full arrears of the Chö8t, over and above the valuable presents which they had already received; and that their very Agents and Vekeels at Calcutta had been honoured with presents and enriched with estates(97). It must be observed,

(97) The Governor, not content with paying down some money to the Court of Náigpoor, on account of the two Corors and a-half which were claimed upon the Chö8t or pension due by Bengal to Oressa, (and this pension is of twelve lacs a year) and with assisting the Marhatta Vekeel or agent in obtaining a loan of sixteen lacs more in Calcutta, that is, with becoming answerable for the payment, (which in fact was never made by the Marhattas); the Governor not satisfied with all that threw another bait in the Marhattas way. He took into his pay a body of two thousand of their Cavalry, who were to escort Colonel Pearce through the Oressa. This last article riveted the Marhatta Prince's inclination; and after all, that Cavalry behaved in an orderly manner, and proved of some use to the Colonel's detachment, were it but by not molesting his baggage and his convoys. As to the Vekeel or Ambassador from Náigpoor, the Governor took with him the very same method, taken every day at Moorshood-abad and elsewhere by suitors; these bribe the

however, that the Court of Náigpoor bore a cordial enmity to the Ministers of Poonah, and to the Rulers of Decan, on account of pretensions of old standing (98); and the Governor having availed himself of those discontents, Chimnadji had thought proper to return to his father, and to leave Colonel Pearce at full liberty to march at the head of a veteran army through the whole Oressa, from whence he continued his journey thro' Gandjam and Sicacol, and Mendradj, where he effected a junction with General Coote. After which both those Generals gave several battles to Háider-nâic, but reaped no other advantage from them than that of clearing the environs of that fortress; for Háider-nâic has remained undoubtedly the master of the whole province of Arcat. We have learned since, that Colonel Pearce having got on board of a ship, was arrived at Calcutta, from whence he had taken with him the great sums which the Governor had obtained as a loan from the principal men of his nation, and from the Bengalees. But he had hardly reached Mendradj, when General Coote himself returned to Calcutta, on account of sickness, leaving however the Colonel and the army in that fortress, where it is universally reported that the dearness and scarcity of grain, nay, of every necessary of life, has risen to such a heighth, as to be past suffering. But such is the strength and firmness of mind, which the English are possessed of, and such the wise dispositions made by the Governor in sending endlessly supplies of provisions, that the garrison has kept a firm footing, notwithstanding the distress felt within; nor has the fortress of Mendradj been conquered in these three years' time. God only knows what is to happen after this; but as our accounts do not reach farther, we intend to continue these sheets, whenever we shall have assembled materials.

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very Attorney employed by their adversary. This ambassador was Ben-ram-pandet. The Governor enriched him won him to his side, and made him instrumental in winning his master's heart.

(98) These pretensions of old standing were as follows: Madadji-bhossla, the feudatory Prince of the Oressa, being of the elder branch of the Radjpoot or Military family, which reigned at Satara, could not see without a sore eye that Baladji-ráo, the founder of the Sacerdotal or Brahmanical family which resided at Poonah, at two days journey to it, should govern everything throughout the whole Empire, under the modest title of *Nana* of maternal uncle, and of *Pishva*, or precursoir and agent.

Meanwhile we shall compliment our reader with some account of Mubarec-ed-döwlah, and of the English Government and policy in Bengal. This prince is the fourth son of Mir-djaafer-qhan, and is now aged about twenty-two years. He is a very civil young man, always speaking in a kind, friendly manner to any that approaches him. He seems particularly disposed to shew a regard to such persons, whether men or women, as descend from illustrious families, and is always ready to oblige them by word or by action, or at least to compassionate their case. Naturally tender-hearted, he listens with patience to those that are unfortunate or oppressed, and he is always disposed to relieve them. But his time is not well distributed; and he is always dissolved in all kinds of effeminating delices, and always immersed in the pleasures of the table, or in the company of dance-women; this is, his whole care, being perfectly indifferent to everything else, either in this world or in the other; his apathy being such, that no man is the gladder for his friendship, nor the uneasier or worse for his aversion. The very least of his slave-boys, or of those of his father's, will make no difficulty to say or do in his presence, whatever comes uppermost in his mind; nor do they pay any regard to the rules of serving modestly, or to those of a respectful behaviour. His very liberality is of a kin to the thoughtlessness of his character; there being nothing more common than to see him give away, where it is improper to give anything at all, and to refuse obstinately, where it is proper to give. And here is an instance of this: The people of India have a singular custom in the rainy season. They make boats of paper or straw, which being supported on bodies of plantain trees, and filled with lampions and lanthorns, are let loose upon the stream, where they make a pretty effect in a still night. After this they boil wheat with a quantity of milk and sugar, and make a composition which they give away to the water-bearers, that they may pronounce a prayer over this fare, which they deem an offering to Qhadja-qhydyr or (the Lord-green) (99) upon whom be peace! This offering which

(99) What the English most unaccountably call in India *Plantain* (and this is not an herb or a grass in Europe) is nothing else but the *Musa* or *ficus Paradisiaca* of the books. The natives call it *Kelá* and *Kalá*. These boats are made of coloured paper, supported by a slight bamboo frame, just enough to shew the appear-

is of Hindoo origin, was heretofore introduced by that idiot of Seradj-ed-dŏwlah, an ignorant Prince, who knew nothing of either religion or rite, and who in the pride of youth and wealth, celebrated that festival with a deal of magnificence and ostentation. He assembled a great number of boats, some of them big enough to carry a hundred men, and having filled them with an infinity of lampions, and with gardens and parterres of all sorts

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ance of a boat; and this is supported by the body of some *Kelá* tree, which although so soft and juicy, as to be cut through with a small knife or even with the nail, has the faculty of floating. The providing at least one such boat, and the launching the same, is deemed so obligatory on all the Bengalees, especially the Mahometans, that the very women, those beings immured the whole year round, are no more to be kept under controul, at that festival. They sally forth in droves, preceded by their boats and by drums and hautboys, and carry their boats to the water side, where they are filled with lampions and a variety of coloured fires. There they launch them, leaving on the shore some sliced ginger, some raw rice, and some *kelá* fruits; and having cried two or three times *Qhadja Qhydyr* (Lord Verdant or green), the piece of devotion is performed, and they retire to their homes. This festival happens about the middle of September; and this is the way of celebrating the same amongst the Mahometans (of Bengal), who cannot give any account of either the origin or intent of such an institution. The Gentoos of Bengal celebrate it likewise, but it is by a rigorous fast of three days, where the most delicate take only some fruit and water. At the end of that fast they come in crowds to the river side, bathe devoutly, shift their clothes, and leave on the shore some sliced ginger, &c., &c., being the fresh productions of the land after the inundation of August, an inundation which would destroy the rice (although the latter cannot grow but in water), were it to last more than a few days. This in the Gentoos seems to be a religious ceremony, to thank the Author of all plenty, for the fruitfulness of the earth, for the critical disappearance of the waters, and for the subsequent crop of rice, which they had left free, but which however is mostly reaped in boats. It is observable that neither Gentoos nor Mussulmen can give an account of this festival: but whoever reflects that it looks exactly like the festival of lanthorns in China (festival, of which the Chinese can give no rational account neither); whoever remembers that this festival, which the author attributes to Seradj-ed-dŏwlah (who only adopted it) is very ancient in Bengal (and only in Bengal, exclusively of all India) and recollects also that inoculation and silk-worms, which are so common all over China, are to be seen only in Bengal (and nowhere all over India), a country once conquered by the Chinese about a thousand years ago, who knew it under the name of Mandji, a name by which all boatmen are known to this day all over Bengal; whoever perpends all those scattered branches of knowledge, will not be at a loss to guess whence came the three institutions of inoculation, silk-worms, and the lanthorn. Add to this a fourth: the Chinese have also left in Bengal their very method of constructing boats. For whereas the Europeans with all India, set first the keel and timbers, and then cover the whole with the skin, that is, with the boards; the Bengalees, first of all, make

of transparent fires, he let them loose on the river, whilst the the shores were, as well as the water, illuminated by an infinity of fires of various colours : a sight at which he seemed exceedingly delighted. Such a whim did not fail to be continued by his successors, who took care to look upon it as an yearly institution, and a law inviolable and sacred. And, of course, Mubarrec-ed-döwlah himself could not fail to adopt so wise, so useful an institution, although he is not possessed of the thousandth part of Seradj-ed-döwlah's wealth ; and his servants and officers, as well as men of the highest rank, suffer and go to wreck for want of their salaries, and sometimes for want of the very necessaries of life. Nevertheless, money, and plenty too, is found and squandered away for such idle, senseless expenses ; and so addicted is he to that childish shew, that he oversees it himself, and makes nothing of spending upon it ten or fifteen thousand rupees a year. In this, as in every other matter, his ignorance and neglect are so notoriously known, that one-half of that sum is embezzled by the infidelity of his people, and only the other half spent in that and the like childish pastimes; and although religion invites to other expenses, and every one of his dependants suffer real distresses for want of being paid their salaries, yet he sets apart another sum of five or six thousand rupees for performing the rites of the Divaaly(100), which is a festival of Gentoo institution ; the principal rite of which is this, that people send to each other for their children, a number of simulachres, made of clay or sugar, or of a composition of sugar and meal, which is cast in imitation of men and beasts, so as to represent a variety of actions and postures. They are to be found ready made in the shops. As for the H8li(101) itself, it is again a festival of Hindoo institution, but held so sacred

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up the frame and figure of the boat with boards and finish it totally, and then only put in the ribs, beams, &c., &c

Qhadja qhydyr, (or the Lord Verdant) is the name under which the Prophet Eliah, deemed alive by the Mahometans, is known all over the East.

(100) The Divalee, in which all kinds of games, such as hazard, dice, &c., &c., are permitted, seems to be a wise institution. The legislator unable to restrain altogether the propensity to gambling, has shut it up, within those three days of the Divalee.

(101) The H8li has been described more than once. *Look at the notes 69, and 227, of the first Volume.*

amongst our delicate Grandees, and so very obligatory, that they never fail to spend a deal of money in dancers, and such kind of spectacles, and especially, in making presents to low people, who, at such a particular time, are in possession of acknowledging those favours by the liberty of giving to the donors, as well as to each other, a great deal of abusive and shameful language, and that too, not in obscure terms, but in the broadest and coarsest language, and by naming every thing by its proper term, without any regard to rank, station, or decency(102). In one of these H8lics I happened to be at Moorshood-abad, when Mubarec-ed-dôwlah was circumcising his children : a ceremony in which he spent thirty-seven thousand rupees in clothes and presents to his slave-girls, to his favourite women, to his principal eunuchs, and to those of his mother, Babboo-begum ; and all this, whilst the screams and complaints of his creditors were rending the air. It was remarked that amongst all those he so compliment-ed, he had been sedulous in distinguishing one Saader-mend-qhan, Overseer of the household of that Princess. He received a rich paleky, an aigrette, and a serpitch or circlet, all of jewel-work, with a rich jewel called calghy, a chaplet of pearls, and several other articles, to the great wonder of every one, who could not understand what business an eunuch could possibly have in such feasts as these about a circumcision ; nor what such mighty services(103) he could have performed, that should intitle him

(102) Should we observe that in the H8li people disguise themselves, throw dust at each other, and that the politest people syringe coloured waters at each other's faces and clothes; that servants are then allowed to do or say what they please ; and that nothing is more common than to see them, and especially the chair-men carry upon their shoulders, in burlesque pomp, and much laughable ceremony, an old man with all the insignia of grandeur and sovereignty, rendered ridiculous and extravagant ; we should be apt to think that this festival has passed from the Indians to the Persians and Lydians, (which two nations appear to have had but one language and one religion,) and from the latter to the Tuscans, and at last to the Romans, whose *Saturnalia* need no description

(103) Had the author been more prying and inquisitive, or possibly less impress-ed with an idea of the gravity of his history, he would have easily learned what mighty services stout eunuchs can render to immured Ladies ; although indeed it was impro-per to publish them to the world by conferring so much extra distinction on the per-formers. It is certain that Indian eunuchs, although totally and completely so, con-trive to afford a variety of consolations to sequestrated Ladies ; and as certain that Indian Ladies come in time to acquire such a relish for such kinds of intimacies, that they conceive a disrelish to all other modes. This is so far true, that we have

to such high favours, and to so much distinction. But this is not the only thoughtless expense of Mubarec-ed-dŏwlah. There are many more, and more indeed than can be numbered, should we take into the account the high salaries paid to a number of singers and dancers, to whose abilities as much respect and regard is shewn to-day, as was ever paid in times of yore to men of learning and of worth, by the former Sovereigns and Emperors of Hindostan. But no wonder in that, since Mubarec-ed-dŏwlah himself is become one of them, at least, he is a scholar to some of those dancers and singers(104). Justly at that time there arrived at Moorshood-abad one of those dancers and story-tellers. He was son of one Sheriff-qhan, a famous story-teller and dancer, who had been superintendent of the people of that profession, in the service of Ali-dja-mir-cassem-qhan; such was the pedigree of that mighty personage. Immediately a house was provided for him, as if he had been some man of importance; a high salary was assigned for his expenses, and a rich Persian sabre(105), which doubtless had cost no less than a large sum of money, was presented to him, together with a couple of shawls fit for a Prince, without reckoning some other rich presents; and he was held in as much honour and estimation,

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seen Bhag-Bhâi, the famous mistress of Nevazish-mahmed-qhan, continue to live thirty years together with one eunuch, with whom she had contracted an intimacy during her lord's life-time. And there are to this day at Lucknow two pretty sisters, who have agreed to share amongst themselves the person of a young eunuch, on whom they had cast their eyes, whilst they were yet in Shudjah-ed-dŏwlah's Seraglio. Some young women, who saw them at a wedding, having rallied the sisters on the oddity of their tastes, and even cracked a luscious double entender on their connection, were at once silenced by a formidable answer, equally ingenious and free, which made a great effect on the company, but which English paper would not bear.

(104) Dancing and singing is an accomplishment all over Persia and Turkey amongst Ladies, and in Turkey performing upon some instrument. A woman who should have no skill in at least one of them, would be deemed ill educated and clownish. In India both dancing and singing are intirely confined to professional women, which although not always prostitutes, are however reputed such, being equally called to perform in companies of men, as well as in those of women. This is the case, both in India and Persia, with regard to women-dancers; but in Turkey they have the misfortune to admit amongst men none but dancing-boys. It must be observed here that, although singing and performing and dancing are reputed-accomplishments both in Persia and Turkey, it is only for women; for amongst men, dancing would be deemed an infamy; and it is the same in India.

(105) There are plain Persian blades that will fetch 500 Rupees.

as any of the nobility, and indeed in a great deal more, being exceedingly caressed and courted.

So much bad example has had no influence on his mother, Babboo-begum; and that Princess, although originally a dancer herself, and of a dancing family, is by no means intoxicated with the fumes of elevation and wealth. On the contrary, it is remarkable that she never speaks to women of distinction, but with modesty and deference; and that sensible of the advantages, which nobility and high descent are possessed of above the other ranks in life, she makes it a point to shew to persons of that description every mark of distinction and honour in her power. If to those valuable qualifications be added the high regard, and tender gratitude, she constantly pays to those of her own family, and the attention she constantly shews to all her relations whatever, and even to any person she remembers to have once known, to all whom she is exceedingly complaisant and generous; the whole of such a character will form a very amiable person.

Much may be said likewise, in praise of Menny-begum, step-mother to the young Navvab. It is observable, that although she was once a dependant of Babboo-begum, and a slave-girl to that Princess's mother, who introduced her to Mir-djaffer-qhan's bed, yet she enjoys a pre-eminence, and a priority in that office, over that Princess herself, who was known to that General but afterwards. She is a woman of much sense and spirit, but haughty and over-bearing; although at the same time, she proves so steady and stiff, in supporting and protecting her officers and friends, that she cannot be brought to dismiss any one she has taken into her service, unless indeed he be guilty of some enormous misdemeanour. Her conduct in other respects is always regular, and her liberalities always rational. I remember, on that subject, an anecdote that does her a great deal of honour. I was just landed at Moorshoodabad, when it happened that one of the women, attached to the service of the Princesses, her daughters, stopped short in the preparatives she was making to marry an only child. On notice of this failure, Menny-begum sent her immediately seventy or eighty Mohurs(106), with a quantity of necessaries; and it is in the like manner she has raised Itbar-aaly-qhan, an eunuch,

(106) A Mohur is more than a double Guinea.

from the lowest distress to the height of affluence and power, and has likewise conferred riches and favours upon Hekim-askery, her body-physician, without seemingly intending to lay him under any obligation. Nor are these instances of generosity few in number. Indeed there are so many of them, that it is become a standing observation, that whoever has been so lucky as to get into her service, is sure to have found a true receipt for the philosophical stone. Such a man has from that moment turned his back for ever from the door of the avaricious, and he is for ever secured against the unfeeling look of the hard hearted. If to so many qualifications, she could add some sweetness of temper, and some condescension in her behaviour; and would she place at the head of her affairs a wise man, by whose counsels she could consent to be advised, she would indeed prove an incomparable woman.

As those two Princesses, of whom we have just spoke, have had similar intimacies, and similar connections with Mahmed-reza-qhan, his name comes naturally after theirs. This nobleman, of whom mention has been made more than once in these sheets, has a very singular character. Although well stricken in years, and as such, supposed to have seen much of the world, nevertheless he is blunt and thoughtless; nor does he in his words pay a sufficient attention to what he is about, or to those that overhear him And on the other hand, he does not seem to have right notions about truth and falsehood; nor does he seem very sensible of the different consequents which they never fail to produce. As to his morals, they say that some years ago, when he had the absolute direction of the Revenue-office, as well as of everything else in Bengal, he shewed the utmost disregard to every matter of chastity and decorum; still less did he know the value of men of learning and merit. Unmindful of his own rank, although so full of himself, he passes much of his time in playing at cards and dice, and makes nothing, when in company, of talking much, and in relating during whole hours together stories which he has picked up in ancient times and books, without once minding the ignorance and unadequateness of his audience. It is singular, that whilst he proposes his ownself for pattern to his children, he lives meanwhile like a thorough spendthrift; and although he is

provided with an ample estate(107), and many other emoluments, he manages so well by being always busy in building, and perpetually adding to his houses and places, (of which he has already too many), that he contrives to be constantly in debt, and eternally borrowing: a management that keeps him always needy, and always embarrassed. Unable through whim and thoughtlessness to set some bounds to his prodigalities, he is ever ready to snap at whatever he can hook in, either by borrowing or otherwise; and above all, careless and unmindful of the necessity of payment. Hence we see him eternally dunned by his creditors. It is in this manner he has provided to himself a bad character, and he is become a standing-stock for the curses and imprecations of mankind. His children, in imitation of their father's pride, think themselves equal or even superior in rank, to every one, and also better. Nor do they think it consonant to their exalted rank to speak to men of distinction and high pedigrees, with that modesty and that deference which is agreed to in good companies; nor do they seem to be scrupulous in matters of decorum. But what is singular, these two hopeful sons of his, although actually suffering from scarcity of money and straightness of influence, are no less proud and haughty in their behaviour, indeed they are haughty to an excess. Their whole household does not consist of more than a hundred people of all sorts: nor can they afford to go abroad with more than thirty or forty; and even these, for want of being paid their arrears, pass their time in suffering famine and in sobbing. It is in the middle of such a court of famished wretches, that those hopeful noblemen firmly believe themselves equal to Assef-dja(108), and have such high notions of themselves, that they think it a sin to bow the head of modesty and civility to any man(109), or to go to visit any one; and although he should be of an illustrious family, they think

(107) About eighty thousand pounds sterling a year.

(108) Assef-dja, *alias* Nizam-el-mulk, possessing all the rich countries that extend from the river Nerbeda to Cape Comorin, had an income of ten millions sterling; and this in a country where grain is five or six times cheaper than in England.

(109) The Indian salute consists in putting the fingers and palm of the right hand, (and never that of the left which is reserved for uses of cleanliness) to the forehead, so as to cross it vertically, inclining the body at the same time, and there are many niceties in making such a salute, and many more in returning it, or, as is the Indian phrase, in taking up.

its reflection upon themselves, whilst at the same time, the smallness of their means and income is such, that they have not one gentleman to attend them, and to keep them company. Hence they are desirous of seeing their houses frequented(110); and this is so far true, that whenever any one chances to fall in their hands, they lay hold of him, and detain him so long by prolonging the conversation, that he is ready to lose his temper. With all this, they will not suffer any one to smoke his Hocca(111) in their presence, nor to ease his legs by(112) altering his respectful posture. On all these accounts the few that frequent their houses are discontented; but no man of rank chooses to go there.

It is not so with Mahmed-hossein-qhan, elder brother to Mahmed-reza-qhan. He is a benevolent, learned man, and an able Physician; and his son, Mahmed-zeky-qhan, who has espoused one of Mahmed-reza-qhan's daughters, is a young man, well-bred, and of a good disposition, as well as capable of holding a conversation with men of sense and abilities. Bend-aaly-qhan, son to the Physician Aaly-nacky-qhan, and of course cousin to Mahmed-reza-qhan, to whom he has been further allied of late by marrying his daughter, is a young man, who although very much of the same temper and disposition with the young men of Hindostan, is not void of some good qualities; nor does he assume such lofty airs, as do most persons of that family. He

(110) All these Strictures are much exaggerated. Mahmed-reza-qhan, when he pleases, is certainly a man of "great sense; his elder son Behram-djung is now "dead(1787); but his younger son, Dilaver-djung, is alive, has two or three "children, and governs his father's household; nor does the latter consume now "his time at cards and at such pastimes. This second son is handsomely featur- "ed, and so was his elder. As for the father, his chest is so broad, his body so "erect, his tone of voice so very loud, and his eyes so very full or fire at the age of "seventy, that he seems to have yet thirty years to live."

(111) The Hocca or, as the English call it, the Hoocaw, has been mentioned more than once.

(112) The respectful posture from Constantinople to Tebet, when sitting, is to kneel down, and to bend both legs under one's self, so as that they should touch the ground, and then to lean the hams upon them, so as that the soles of the feet should be turned upwards. This posture, which is so very painful to an European, is become so very easy to the Orientals, that they will sit several hours without suffering any incommodity from it. The familiar posture is to sit so, as that the legs should cross each other under the hams, which behind are leaning on the ground. This latter posture is called *Chahar-Zanó*, or four corners: the other is called *Da-Zanó*, or two corners.

is fond of the company of gentlemen, and lives upon good terms with them. As to the other persons and dependants of that family, they all copy their master, and seem perfect strangers to the fear of God, as well as quite indifferent to the acquisition of a good character. And now after having misapplied some of our time in giving an idea of the man set up by the English at the head of these countries, it becomes highly proper to atone for that excursion, by saying something of the English themselves, as well as of their India Company.

The word Company signifies in English an assembly of some men, and on that account, even amongst Military men, a certain number of soldiers, is called a Company. And formerly a hundred Musqueteers constituted a Company; but now only seventy-five form a Company, whose chief man is called a Sobahdar. The Commander of twenty is a Djematdar, or a Náic; of ten or twelve, a Havaleh-dar; and of six, an Amaldar. Ten Sobahdars with their men form a Paltan(113), and the Commander of these ten Sobahdars is called a Comidan (Commandant); but every Paltan with its men and officers is under the orders of an English Capitain, who has the power of confirming, dismissing, and appointing the officers, as well as of bringing others in their stead; of disciplining the men, and of giving them their pay, with a turbant, a coat, and a sash or girdle; of repairing their arms, of examining them; and of giving them new ones. All that is in the Capitain's office, who, in the command of this single Paltan, has many benefits, which amount to a good Djaghir or landed estate(114); so that whenever a Commander is inclined to oblige a Capitain, he gives him a Paltan, else, the officer remains with his particular pay, as a simple Capitain(115), and waits for the moment of being appointed to such a command. As to those European warriors that come from their country, if they be vile and low born, they are first turned into soldiers, to be afterwards advanced to the office of Sergeants. Now a Sergeant has a command in disciplining the men, and in keeping them in order. But amongst their gentlemen and men of the better

(113) This word is a corruption of the English one Plattoon, which comes from the French *Pelotton* clusters.

(114) To about two thousand Rupees per month, and some say, to the double.

(115) The pay of a Capitain of Infantry in the field is above three hundred half-crowns; and some that are in office, have a great deal more.

sort, the first rank is that of Ensign, which word is to be written with the *Alif* surmounted by a *Kesra,* as is the *sin* by a *fetah quiescent.* After that, they become Loftununs, and after that, Capitains. The next rank is that of Major; the next after it, is that of Cornal; after which comes that of Gernal (General), which is the highest rank to which Military men can pretend to. The gentlemen likewise other than the Military, who are in high offices and employments, have amongst themselves degrees of service and rank, which have not come minutely to my knowledge; but the whole of them collectively are called *Carranis*(116). The ranks and degrees of both corps are reckoned by seniority of time, and by priority of rank; so that whoever has got soonest into the service, has an advance upon the others; and whoever has got into it latest, is later in station and preferment likewise. And thus they follow each other in order; nor can a junior servant pretend to the preferment of a senior, unless some link should happen to get loose from the chain; and this cannot be the case, but only by a demise, by resignation of the service, or by a dismission for some fault or misdemeanour. In this manner, so soon as this one is got out of the chain, the others follow of course, and advance by one degree in their respective classes, without needing any intreaty or application for that purpose; and if three or four happen to go out at a time, by so many degrees do their juniors become at once advanced. So that it is possible that in the Military line, for instance, a Loftonun (lieutenant) without becoming a Capitain, may, as well as a Major, become at once a Colonel; and this barely by the departure of his senior. It is the same in the corps, called of writers. The Company itself, that body which now under the name of Divan of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oressa, possesses in fact the sovereignty and dominions of those countrics, as well as that of most of the coasts and port-towns of India, is composed of a number of rich and creditable Englishmen, of the country of England, inhabitants of the city of London, which is the Capital of the English Kings. These

(116) The author takes this word to be English for Writers or Clerks. *Carrani* is an Arabick word, but used only at the Malabar Coast; and it is singular that our author should know anything of it. However, it is known in Calcutta under that signification, although all over Hindostan they have no other word for that profession, but that of *Nevisendèh*, which is Persian, and that of *Mehrir*, which is Arabick.

in the beginning were a number of wealthy merchants, who having got themselves authorized by the Council of their country, and by the Ministers of their King, commenced trading and merchandising in the kingdoms of Hindostan; and as they soon became knowing and intelligent in that branch of trade, they kept it going on by admitting from year to year into their body their own children and heirs, or any one else that would apply. These last also became Company, which they are to this day. And they went on trading and commercing, until the throne of Bengal chanced to be occupied by Seradj-ed-dōwlah; and as that Prince's able government, and military talents, and political qualifications happened to be inherited to the full by his successor and kinsman, Mir-djaaffer-qhan, and by his Minister, Radja D818b-ram; there is nothing strange in those merchants having found the means of becoming masters of this country, and nothing so wonderful in their having in the sequel availed themselves of the imbecility of some Hindostany Sovereigns, equally proud and ignorant, to turn conquerors, and to rise to such a pitch of strength and influence, as to become in that vast region a preponderant power, that outweighs and overawes all the Sovereigns of India. They are so powerful even in Europe, that the Sovereigns of that nation, whom these people call *King*, although absolute in his commands, cannot give them an order, without the advice and consent of his Council, and that of the nation; and if he should venture so far, the order would not pass the seals, and would remain unexecuted.

The Members of his Council are Omrahs, or great Lords of that land; but the Council of the nation is composed of a number of persons, which the principal inhabitants of every city and town of that land have chosen amongst themselves, some one, and some two, and whose attachment and knowledge they have approved. So that those chosen men are entrusted with the concerns of the whole, and become the Advocates and Attorneys of those by whom they are sent. All these assemble in the Capital, where they immediately turn their attention towards the public accounts; and then occasionally examine whatever business happens to offer, or whatever is proposed by the Sovereign, and his Council, as objects likely in their opinion to become beneficial to themselves, to the senders, and to the

people in general. They weigh and examine it carefully amongst themselves; and when it has been approved by them, it is from that moment willingly admitted and obeyed, as law, by all the inhabitants of the land; and in such a manner, that whatever those Attorneys have approved of as beneficial, and intimated accordingly to the senders, is immediately put in execution by them with all their might, and all their heart; nor is there an instance of their having ever covered themselves with any excuse or pretence whatever. An admirable institution this, extremely useful and beneficial; and an excellent rule which these people have contrived for themselves! It is so capable, so productive of order! Here in India, as well as in England, these people are guided by those institutions, and keep them amongst themselves, but only amongst themselves; for as yet in what concerns the welfare of the people of these countries, and in all revenue matters, relative to these provinces, they trust to what rules and constitutions they have heard of here, and to whatever instructions they may have received from Mootsuddies(117), and officers of their own appointing. These they have already committed to their books, and they have made of them so many rules to distinguish right from wrong; but the reason why such a custom has been instituted, and what might be its cause and ground, these are matters which they never discover themselves, nor ever ask of others; or if they comprehend anything in them, they willingly counterfeit ignorance, without any one's being able to guess what they mean by counterfeiting that ignorance. In short, as the gates of communication and intercourse are shut up betwixt the men of this land and those strangers, who are become their masters; and these latter constantly express an *aversion to the society of Indians, and a disdain against conversing with them*; hence both parties remain ignorant of each other's state and circumstances. It is true that a small number indeed of natives are in the service of the Members of the Committee, and of the Collectors of the six Districts; but these are not such a sort of men as can expose their own requests, or represent what may conduce to the welfare and ease of the subjects; still less are they capable to point out such regulations as might conduce to the prosperity of the land, and of

(117) Pen-men employed in revenue matter.

its inhabitants. And on the other hand, *"not one of the English "Gentlemen shews any inclination or any relish for the company "of the Gentlemen of this country, or from listening to the con-"versation, or to the stories of the natives; although nothing "but conversation, is likely to put it in the power of some virtuous, "well disposed man, to learn what aches these poor natives, "and what might give them relief; and nothing but inter-"course would enable him to transmit such useful hints to "Government as might conduce to the welfare of the distressed "inhabitants of this land."* It is therfore with a view to promote so desirable an end, that we have attempted in the following sheets to shew how managed the ancient Sovereigns of this country, those Princes so renowned for the equity of their Government, and what object they had in view, whenever they set up such and such practice, and such and such custom; what advantage they intended by each of them, and what benefit they had in fact received. We shall point out likewise what their late successors intend by certain institutions and rules of their own, set up of late under pretence of putting the ancient ones in force; and how these have disguised their own intentions in the eyes of the public, by masking their intentions. All those matters are exposed here to the best of our abilities and power; so that with a little attention one might obtain, in these humble leaves, a full knowledge on those unknown or misunderstood subjects. This at least is our aim and intention; and we hope that with the assistance of the Sovereign Bestower of Graces, good shall at some future period succeed evil, and that the afflicted people of God shall at last find pity in the heart of their Rulers, and come to enjoy some relief from their sufferings. In compliance, therefore, with the sentence of the Holy Writ, *that whoever induces others to good, promotes his own welfare,* we shall endeavour to point out the right way; and may God grant that we may all see it! Amen.

SECTION XIV

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NOTHING is clearer in itself, or better understood by men of intelligence and penetration, than that the gradation of climates is such, that every tract of land has properties of its own, which have been denied to others. In other words, that in consequence of some hidden causes, in a certain tract of land, the diversity of the soil produces immancably a diversity in the genius of the inhabitants, and that this diversity is so self-evident, that the man of perspicuity needs no discourse or argument to be convinced of it; and indeed, were all soils and lands of one and the same nature, that astonishing difference in the colour of the inhabitants, and in the fruits, metals, waters, plants, and animals, so conspicuous everywhere, would not be constant and permanent in every tract of land. Amongst so many climes and so many lands, India looks the strangest

country on the face of the earth. Whether we cast our eyes on the actions and practices of the inhabitants, or consider the institutions and maxims by which they are restrained and ruled, nothing in the world bears so evident marks of strangeness, and nothing under Heaven is so completely dissimilar from what we see in other countries. This is so far true, that unless the Sovereign turn his inclinations towards a management adapted to the climate and country, no steady Government can be expected; nor is it possible that the ease and prosperity of the inhabitants, or the peace and tranquillity of the country should take place. Now as this climate, in consequence of its being under the influence of Saturn, is dominated by that planet, hence most of its inhabitants are feeble in action, and slow in comprehension; and withal, prove so very feeble in the frame of their bodies, that they have been constantly subdued by foreign conquerors, and vanquished by foreign armies. But, however, so tenacious were at all times the vanquished of their own tenets and customs, that the victors soon found themselves under a necessity of assimilating with them; and so soon as these mighty conquerors had acquired a firm footing in these countries, and the violence and extortions inseparable from a state of warfare, slaughter, and confusion, came to be over, their very first thought was always to quiet the minds of the inhabitants, and to afford them relief, by always becoming their protectors in whatever concerned their lives, fortunes, honors, and families. They used to call up all the abilities of the land to their sides, would give them weight and consequence, and prepose Vezirs and Omrahs of the country to the management of their own affairs. In consequence of such a conduct, each individual, high or low, finding an easy access to the Princes, and to their Ministers(118), used to meet with opportunities of shewing

(118) Should we listen to the books and relations found in Europe, we should be apt to think that the Princes of the East are a set of inaccessible men, eternally shut up within the walls of their palaces. This accusation is brought by no others than those who have never seen but the stores of India, and never had any opportunity to approach either Prince or Minister. The fact, however, is, that there are no Princes and no Ministers on the face of earth so accessible, and none so inclined to put up with the murmurs, the reproaches, and even the foul language of their disappointed suitors. We have no idea of such condescension in Europe. *God had drank wine,* (said a man to the famous Mir-cassem-qhan) *when He appointed*

what business he was particularly fit for; so that those Princes, who were naturally endowed with penetration, and had their minds exercised in the art of conjecure, soon found out the capacity and fitness of every one, and soon preposed him to a business adequate to his talents and abilities; whilst themselves, standing above them all as so many overseers, attended to the regulation of affairs, to the tranquillity and ease of the country and its inhabitants, and to the promoting of men of penetration and knowledge; which last never failed, after a proper trial of their abilities and virtuous dispositions, to be advanced to offices of trust and dignity. Hence those Princes lived amongst their people, and amongst their nobles, as kind and condescending parents amongst their children; nor did they suffer the dust of sorrow to darken the heart of any of the creatures of God, by a show of tenderness to one part of the people, and of rudeness to the other. For they looked upon them all, whether conquerors or conquered, with an equal eye; so that for several ages together, down to the times of Shah-djehan, every thing in Hindostan was quietness, love, and harmony. It is only since the times of Aoreng-zib-Aalem-ghir, his son, a Prince extremely warlike and ambitious, that evils have crept upon the land. But yet these were light matters; for such were the abilities, prowess, and strictness of government under that reign, that the established rules and institutions did not suffer any considerable injury from the wickedness of the turbulent Grandees; nor did the people of God meet with much oppression in the civil wars, during which it never ceased to be protected and cherished. The main evil resulting from his time was this, that to make a diversion in the minds of the people, to the ill renown of ingratitude and hardness of heart, which he had acquired by killing his brothers, and keeping his father in prison, he had assembled the Ecclesiastics

Indian Princes love their people, as fond parents do their children.

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such an one as you for a Ruler. The Navvab overheard him, and all his Court expressed some indignation. "Why so? (said the Prince) this man has lost his cause, and is out of his senses, and you won't let him exhale himself in abuse!" The Emperors of Hindostan used to give public audience twice a week, and were imitated by all their Lieutenants and Governors. Whereas the charge of inaccessibleness brought against Europeans by their Indian subjects, is founded on matter of fact, and on daily experience, although, after all, the charge is exaggerated; nor do they observe that an ordinary Englishman has more writing, and more business of his own to go through, than any two Navvabs of India put together.

about his person, and had given them such unbounded sway, that the populace complimented him with the titles of *the Faithful Emperor, ever victorious, and the constant Cherisher of Religion.* But those hypocrites no sooner saw themselves at the head of affairs, than their avarice and covetousness gave rise to such a train of evils, as shed even now their baleful influence on these countries, continuing to pour ruin and devastation on the posterity of the Faithful: a revolution which has been succinctly mentioned at the end of our first volume, where our narrative gives the history of the latter Emperors of Hindostan. Matters grew worse in the reign of Feróh-syúr, who was a nothing without brains. In his time Ratan-chund, Divan to Séyd-abdollah-qhan, then omnipotent under the name of Vezir, got so far possession of his master's mind, that he governed the whole Empire, and drove from the helm, or disgusted entirely those very Grandees and Ministers that had supported its honor and glory, in the time of Aoreng-zib. Then commenced the custom of leasing out all the branches of the Finance-office, and all the districts and lands of the Imperial demesnes. Then bribing men into compliance became of fashion, and of current use; and sluggish people, addicted to their ease, thinking it a good fortune to get at once so much assured money, made no difficulty to sacrifice the sweat of the people of God, and the toil of the helpless farmer, to the rapacity of lease-takers, tax-gatherers, and conractors. It is from those times that must be dated the sinking of rents, the decrease of husbandry, the distress of the people, and their detestation of their Rulers. These evils went on increasing from day to day, till at last the office of Cazy or Judge, and than of Sadr or of Great Almoner, with many other Magistratures, came to be put up publicly to sale; so that the people skilled in law, and in matters of distributive justice, entirely disappeared from the land; nor was anything else thought of, but how to bring money to hand by any means whatever. This, and this alone, became the utmost ambition of all ranks, and especially of the hypocrites amongst the men that meddled with law. It was in such an enfeebled state of the Empire, that there arose a new sort of men, worse than the former, who, so far from setting up for patterns of piety and virtue, or pretending to shew the right way to others, squandered away the lives and

properties of the poor with so much barefacedness, that other men, on beholding their conduct, became bolder and bolder, and practised the worst and ugliest actions, without fear or remorse; so far are they from thinking it a shame or an infamy to imitate and follow such examples. From those men sprung an infinity of evil-doers, who plague the Indian world, and grind the face of the wretched inhabitants. Those men having in process of time assembled in bodies, there arose an age of senseless, slothful Princes, and of Grandees, ignorant and meddling. Then it was that the Sun of Justice and Equity, that had already been verging from the meridian, inclined downwards, degree by degree, and at last entirely set in the Occident of ignorance, imprudence, violence, and civil wars. It is in consequence of these excesses, that evils are arisen to such a height, as render a remedy impossible. It is in consequence of such wretched administrations, that every part of Hindia has gone to ruin, and every one of its discouraged inhabitants have broken their thearts. Life itself is become disgustful to most. So that, on comparing the present times with the past, one is apt to think that the world is overspread with blindness, and that the earth is totally overwhelmed with an everlasting darkness.

Amidst the strange events which these revolutions have brought about, the introduction of European foreigners, in the heart of the land, is an important one. The wise men of Europe have been casting their eyes upon the conquest of India, and have contrived to achieve great part of that conquest, having already acquired an absolute dominion in several tracts. But such is the complete difference, and the total dissimilarity betwixt the manners of their own country, and the customs and usages of Hindostan, that all the endeavours of their chief Rulers, and all the resorts they have put in motion, have answered no purpose at all; nor has the face of regulation in the country, and of ease to the inhabitants, made its appearance as yet. But, over and above those considerations, it may be said with great truth, that *such is the aversion which the English openly shew for the company of the natives, and such the disdain which they betray for them, that no love, and no coalition* (two articles, which, by the bye, are the principle of all union and attachment, and the source of all regulation and settlement) *can take root between the*

On the contrary, the English hate the natives of India, and disdain their company.

conquerors and the conquered; and as we see that the very reverse is actually taking place, so we may rest assured, that the distresses of the people, and the depopulation and desertion of the land, will go hand in hand, until they are come to their height, and the desolation is become complete and general. Such a state of things may be deduced from several causes, which I hope to be able gradually to unfold. And the first is, that these new Rulers are quite alien to this country, both in customs and manners; and quite strangers to the methods of raising tribute, as well as to the maxims of estimating the revenues, or of comprehending the ways of tax-gathering; because in their country a Landlord or Zemindar paying Royal rent from year to year to the public treasury, is a being that has no existence. Taxes and imposts upon husbandry and land, Soobadaries, Fodjdaries, Qhalissas, and Djaghirs are not customary in that country. As much as I can trust to the information I have obtained from intelligent persons amongst them, it appears that they take something, by way of duty, from coaches, and from windows of houses, from plate and other vessels of gold and silver, and from merchandise; and that they differ widely from the customs of this country, in the mode of giving salaries to the servants of Government, and to those that are at the head of affairs; as well as in punishing misdemeanours and trespasses. Insomuch that there are some trespasses that are finable in this country, and are not there; some more that are reputed slight here, and are accounted very high there, and some that are the very reverse. On the other hand, there are some other matters that are unnoticed here, and passed by, and are not so there; some practices, which are become there of custom and obligation, and which here have never been heard of, or seen; as for instance, counting the inhabitants of every town and city, and examining how much they may have earned, and how much spent; how many are dead, and how many are their children, and how many their old men. In one word, it may be said in general, and indeed in almost every institution and custom, that there is a wide difference betwixt the two nations and Governments; and that it is of such a nature as cannot be remedied at all. Nor does it seem possible to bring the people of this country into such customs and usages; whereas the English

The author assigns the fail of rents, and the decrease of population and revenue, to twelve causes, which he explains at length. The first is, that the English have [illegible] times [illegible] strangers [illegible]

being accustomed to them in their own country, want to introduce them here likewise, and think such an introduction easy, and of small moment.

The second cause is, that what little these foreigners have gleaned of the institutions of this country, and which they have examined and committed to their registers, proves to be no more than what they have learned from their own servants. Hence they know nothing of either the reason or intent of them, but by the absurd report of their own servants, who being all beardless and unexperienced, have no view but that of their own benefit, and think only of pleasing their English masters. Those men never fail to shew a deal of revenue matter in every institution and custom; and they are so firm in that opinion, that one would be inclined to believe, that the setting up this and that institution was for no other view, but that of scraping together a few pence; not that it could have any other intent, but that of hooking in some more; and in reality there is no other for men of such sordid dispositions. Nor is this opinion a novel one; it is of some standing, and has commenced so early as the times of Feróh-syur. No wonder then if these foreigners, that are lately come into this country, and know nothing in any such matters, should take for truth, and for useful advice, such crude explanations as are afforded by those that approach their persons, and should act according to what information they receive. Nevertheless, such is their natural genius, and such their innate penetration, that of their own accord they have set aside and abolished some institutions, which they thought oppressive; and here in an instance of this: The first Mussulmen Sovereigns disapproved of public women, and of their being of general use, especially on the eve of a Friday, which is a day particularly holy(119); nor would they suffer any one to defile himself with the crime of fornication; and therefore they denounced punition, and even a capital one, against any such as indulged in keeping in their houses slave-girls or concubines, without having them consecrated by the forms of law, and the

The second cause is the ignorance of the English in what concerns the customs and usages of the country, as well as in what may be the intent and aim of those usages and customs.

(119) The Friday is distinguished, not by a cessation of work, but by longer noon-prayers, at which time likewise is pronounced the Qhotba or apprecation, by the officiant, which being assented to, and partly repeated by the congregation, amounts to an oath of allegiance for the Reigning Prince.

rites of religion; and for these reasons they discerned a variety of pains, which to sinners appeared as hard as death itself, or any other extreme misfortune. It was on that account they had appointed a Daroga, whose business was to be informed of any such women as had rendered themselves public, and had made profession of prostitution; and this officer's business was to take from them a heavy fine every day, and, if found trespassing against the eve of Friday, a heavier one. The drum and hautboy players were also put under this officer's inspection, that they might not go to play anywhere without his knowledge and leave. He had also the authority of determining finally such differents as arose in that tribe amongst themselves, and a power to repress their excesses, and punish their misdemeanours. In this there was another intent and view, namely, that in feasts and weddings, every one should send for as much music only as his means could afford, without casting, in his entertainment, an eye of jealousy upon the Nobles and his betters; and without launching out into expenses of prodigality, or pretending to equal, still less, to surpass his superiors. But, as we have already remarked, people of sordid dispositions did not fail, this longwhile, to pervert this institution into a catch-penny, and an item of tax-gathering; and, shutting their eyes upon the original intent of it, they have observed no other end in it, than the wretched one of scraping up a little money by such a pretence; so that even this pitiful article has been converted into an item of the tax-gathering business. This is so far true, that the English themselves conceiving it to be a shameful *finesse*, that drew after it the worst consequences, have forbidden that tax in their dominions, and totally abolished it. And so it is with every one institution besides. And indeed, if those strangers, who have naturally much penetration and much impartiality, were made acquainted with the infamous practices now in vogue, but concealed under the bark of institution and custom, it is highly probable that they would endeavour to correct them, as so many defects in administration. It is therefore to assist their efforts in that view, that I shall assume the task of explaining the reason and intent of some of those institutions and customs of Hindostan; and I am in full hopes that my notions shall awaken the minds of men of sense upon subjects so misunderstood.

The Cazy's or Judge's office, for instance, was to put in force the ordinances of the law, without partiality or pity, in every matter, and against any person whose case should require his animadversion; and as he had a salary from the treasury, and such a Djaghir besides from the Emperor's liberality as, afforded amply to all his wants, he did dot dare to take any fee or any bribe from any one; and if peradventure any one, was found capable of any such infamy, he became from that moment an object of the Imperial resentment, was adjudged guilty of having dishonoured the law and the Mussulman religion, and became henceforward and object of taunt and reproach from every rank of men. Insomuch that finding himself pointed out with the finger, he pined away with shame and remorse, was for ever excluded from any office, and remained infamous and cursed in this world and the other. But now since from a length of time, it is become customary to put up everything to sale, the office of Cazy is leased out, and under-leased; and a practice which never was heard of in any nation, in any religion, or in any sect whatever, is become a matter of course; so that we see every day faithless Cazies, who, ignorant even of the principles of Musulmanism, and worse in their lives than so many Renegadoes and so many Atheists, take leases of what they call the Cazy's rights, and under-lease them openly to others, although these rights are no more than so many new inventions to torment the Mussulmen of this land, and to extort money from them, under a variety of pretences. No wonder then, if it is come to pass, that by the repeated efforts, and the serious approbation of those faithless wretches, those new-fangled practices have taken such deep root, as to become the current creed of those under-judges; insomuch, that to reclaim them from those practices, is become an absolute impossibility. One would say that the holy sentence, *Shew me, O Lord! those that have made me go astray, that I may trample them under my feet,* has been revealed on purpose for them.

Cazy's office, that is, that of Judge of such civil and criminal matters as are relative to religion.

Here is, for instance, one of the inventions set up by those calumniators of the law. Whenever any Mussulman of the poorer sort comes to die, these poor people, who never had any other instructors than those faithless tutors, enemies to all law, never fail to think that until the Cazy's substitute is come, and has

Abuses that now seem to make a customary part of that awful office.

received the fee designed by his principal, the deceased's spirit does not quit the house; and as sometimes a poor fellow cannot afford the fee, he from that moment is deemed so impure and defiled, himself, his family and dependants, and all, that his very neighbours and acquaintances shun his company, avoid drinking and eating with him, and carry matters so far as to refuse him both fire and water: nor is such an interdict withdrawn until the fee is discharged. So that the deluded man, in despair, either betakes himself to the highway in order to raise the necessary money (and thus acquires a relish for the trade of highwayman), or sells away his ground and furniture, and becomes a vagrant; or at least, he finds means to borrow, and immediately runs in debt; in all which cases, he becomes either useless or pernicious to society; and all that to get rid of the entailed curse upon himself and family.

It is the same with respect to boys that need circumcision, and to the girls that are marriageable, as being both come to the age of puberty. If they chance to be unable to pay the Cazy's fees, they remain bound for years together, and are debarred, the former, from the rites of circumcision, and the latter, from the comforts of marriage. This superstition and abuse goes so far, that if they continue unable to pay the fees, especially those due to the Cazy, they are sure to consume their lives in privation and sorrow; for it is not possible for them to get rid of the interdict, otherwise than by paying. Hence it is, that so many young persons, of both sexes, being debarred the benefit of either of those rites, turn loose and become dissolute. Those then who after approving of such interdicts and such vexations, still pretend to be Mussulmen, will never make any difficulty, on receiving a sum of money, as Cazy's fees, to turn right into wrong, and injustice into justice; and what is still more afflicting, they have such a collection of oppressive practices, and they are put in force so barefacedly, that it would be tedious and painful to mention them at length. However, we shall touch upon some of them, although even with so light a hand.

The Sadr-el-soód8r, or great Almoner.

The Sadr-el-sood8r, or Sadr of Sadrs, and the other Sadrs of every Soobah(120), and every Sercar, were established for

(120) A Soobah is a large province held by a Soobah-dar or Viceroy; a Checla or Sercar is a division of such a province, and a Pergana is a division of the Sercar.

trying the capacity of the Cazies, and for ascertaining the circumstances of people possessed of *Amlács* and *Aimas*, and other lands set apart for pious uses, but especially for watching over the capacities and morals of Cazies, lest by assuming the appearance of learning and knowledge, men ignorant of the principles and rites of Mussulmanism, should find ways to introduce themselves into those offices by dint of artifice and finesse; and thus, from their ignorance of law, religion, faith, and truth, prepare themselves a punition in the other world, and in this. Their office was likewise to take back and to resume such lands, which being originally consecrated to pious uses, should come to fall into the hands of other than such needy and worthy persons, for which they were originally set apart. He was also to protect those persons to whom they had been given in charity, and to prevent or hinder their being dispossessed in their own persons or that of their heirs, either by threats, or by artifice. His business was also to prevent their usurping upon each other, or their making encroachments upon the Crown-lands, or upon such spots as belonged to the Qhalissas, or Exchequer office. These were some of the duties expected from the Sadrs. But now the business of the office of Sadr is become a scene of oppression and violence; and in the hands of that Atheist, Zehor-ollah-beg, it has devoured the substance of thousands of necessitous, inoffensive people; and all this, without his ever minding the consequences, without fear, and without remorse. That man is now dead and gone, and he has carried away upon his shoulders the whole load of the lamentations and groans of an infinity of oppressed, undertrodden people. Thanks be to God! that the words of the Scripture, *The Sun is in the middle of the day*, have been verified literally in the Governor's person, who no sooner heard of the complaints of the holders of charity-lands, and of the oppressions committed under the veil and pretence of Sadrship, than he shewed his detestation of those shameful and sordid actions, and discarded those accursed ones that took upon themselves such a sacred name, and dishonoured the function. At the same time, he confirmed to that office such small fees as were allowed to it, time out of mind, by Emperors, lovers of equity and religion; but he entirely rejected, and utterly abolished the augmentation which this stone-hearted wretch

Governor Hastings, informed in time, rescues an infinity of oppressed families from the grasp of the actual Sadr.

had set up in addition to the perquisites of that office, and which he wanted to carry still higher, as if not yet satisfied with all the havoc he had been doing by raising them from one thousand eight hundred rupees to thirty-five thousand a year. May the Almighty Bestower of Graces and Favors reward the Governor for his having hastened to the assistance of so many afflicted families, and may He put it in his heart, and that of the other heads of administration, to set apart two hours, or even one hour, in every week, for the purpose of taking notice of the many customs and institutions perverted at present; and of listening to the groans and sobs of so many thousands of oppressed ones, who know how to suffer, but cannot speak(121)! Let them consecrate two hours, or even one hour in the week, to so meritorious a purpose. Let them enjoy the luxury of becoming the reversers of every violence and oppression; and let them regale on the dainty of affording relief to those multitudes of the people of God, who groan under a variety of oppressions and exactions, and have no other advocate, and no other comforter, but God Almighty. Let those unfortunate souls find at last in their Rulers a relief from their numberless misfortunes. *I have called upon You, O Lord*(122), *that are the Most Merciful of the merciful! May my request be granted! Amen.*

The Daroga of the Adalet, another Judge in civil matters.

The office of Daroga of the Adalet, that is, of Auditor of the Court of Justice, was established for the purpose of affording instant relief to such poor, defenceless, weak people, as could not at all times, and for evey subject, resort to the Ministers, and to the Emperors. He was provided with a salary, and a Djaghir suitable to his station; and his business was to sit in his tribunal from day-break(123) to three in the afternoon(124),

(121) It appears by the sequel, that his request was heard by Heaven, and that the Governor, roused by so shocking a fact, not only set apart from his many avocations a day in the week, when he heard these sorts of complaints, but referred them in general to a Board, by a special command

(122) Sentence of the Coran, often in the mouth of the oppressed.

(123) It is day-break in India at four o'clock.

(124) If the English knew how much business can be fully comprehended, and consequently dispatched, by rising at four o'clock in the morning, and working as far as ten or eleven; did they know how the most intricate subject that has puzzled during the heat of a day, becomes at once plain, by rising with a clear head at that early hour, they would not sip their tea at eight or nine, in order to work as far as

and to lend an attentive, patient ear to the voice of the oppressed ones, be they whoever they might. If the defendant proved to be a man of consequence, and one whose dignity did not admit of his being sent for, his Attorney was ordered to stand up in his stead, or even himself obliged to attend personally, if the gravity of the case did require it; and the matter was examined with patience, and with an equal look. If it proved to be a slight one, it was made up with the consent of both parties; else, if it proved of moment, then after having carefully ascertained it by witnesses on oath, and by other lawful means, the whole was made up into a Sooret-hal or judicial narrative, and together with the witnesses, and with the plaintiff and defendant, it was presented by the Daroga and his officers to the Emperor and the Minister, who used to sit twice a week on purpose to hear such matters; otherwise, it was presented to the Lieutenant-Governor, or the Lieutenant of the Fodjdar of the town and district, where the different had happened; and the Emperor and the Minister having examined the case, according to their wisdom, gave their decree as they saw fit and equitable. But if the matter was not thoroughly investigated and determined at that one sitting, they referred it to a second; and after such examination as might stand the look of the Imperial eye, they determined according to the rules of truth and justice. Such was the method used in former times. But now the painful task of rendering justice being turned into a powerful engine for making a fortune, the office of Daroga, which so many persons used to decline, is become an object of ambition and strife: and men give presents and make interest to obtain it, whilst Government itself bestows it on them, as an object of favour and predilection. Of late the salaries of the Daroga, and of his officers and dependants, are paid out of the fines and monies arising from it; so that the incumbent, with his dependants, being in the centre of his wishes(125), finds means in a little time to amass immense sums, nor is there any

The Emperors and Princes of Hindostan make it one of their duties, to sit as Judges in civil cases.

three in the afternoon, that is, in the very hottest part of the day, and when the natives themselves prove fainting, and incapable of any tension of mind. More business may be dispatched from four in the morning to ten, than from nine in the morning to nine at night.

(125) The original has *swimming in full water*.

one to enquire after the rate of the perquisites they are drawing from that office. Heretofore few men of piety and knowledge *could be found that would dare to take upon themselves such* an office, which consisting in decisions about property, exposed their consciences to be answerable to God for errors and misconceptions; nor could the Prince and his Ministers, after an exact inquiry about people of good morals, and sufficient knowledge and fear of God, prevail upon them, but by dint of intreaties, to accept such offices. They bestowed more of their attention upon this part of administration than upon any other; nor did they suffer that injustice should become justice by prescription, or that any one should oppress another, at his will. They took care to appoint proper persons in every branch of such an office, and had rendered extortion and bribery so odious, that to call one a bribe-taker was resented much more, than if it had been the most opprobrious word. It was in consequence of such *regulations and attentions that such men of virtuous principles* were found out, as reckoned bribery amongst the highest reproaches, and thought it little short of infidelity, and apostacy; whereas venality and bribery, as well as the art of bringing money by any whatever means, are now reckoned amongst the greatest and most laudable qualifications of the knowing ones of these our times; there being rulers and under-rulers, who seek out men of such stamps, and think them the only ones capable of business. *Hear, ye men of penetration! and benefit by the example.* It was so very easy for poor men to arrive at the very feet of the Emperor's, and to obtain redress, that when, notwithstanding all these precautions, and all these attentions, some oppression chanced to take place, we have instances of oppressed ones, who would sometimes come from two or threes months' journey, and obtain audience, and expose their complaint; and be they the poorest of men, they were sure of being righted against the most powerful adversary. Now that it is exceedingly difficult even to men of the most illustrious descent to approach the Governor and the men in office; now that the English seldom visit or see any of us, the distressed inhabitants of this country; to obtain justice is become a very difficult business, a very operose article; or if any one us, by the strength of his introductor, or the weight of some forcible reason, chances

Warning given by the Author to the Princes of Hindostan.

Insociableness and inaccessibleness of the English in general.

to be admitted for once or twice, it avails little, as the Gentlemen, in consequence of their being engrossed by a variety of public and private affairs of importance amongst themselves, have no attention to spare for the concerns of the people of this land; and as their Mootusuddies or officers and dependants, are always men of such a stamp, that being at all times afraid of some discovery about the lining of their coats, they cannot bear that any one of the oppressed ones should come near their masters. From thence we can easily conclude what is likely to be the fate of the unfortunate people of this land, and how their sufferings are likely to end. Possibly is it, their peculiar fate, that after having been subjected by Providence to the yoke of these strangers, they are still destined to find them such inattentive rulers, as do not think it worth their while to mind the welfare of those prostrated at their feet, and such supine masters, as do make nothing of leaving them at the disposal of their own servants and substitutes; although, however, nothing should be so important to a Sovereign, as the care of the subject, and he ought never to lose sight of the Indian adage,—

Severe reflection upon the English, as masters of Bengal.

" Do not refer his complaint to your Divan,
" Since his complaint is probably against that very Divan."

Amidst such scenes of oppression on one side, and inattention on the other, we ought to praise God, that at the end of the year 1195, the office of Daroga of the Court of Justice, together with the Fodjdary, was taken from the hands of the Indians, and transferred to the English Gentlemen immediately; by which revolution the oppressions and sufferings of the people of this land have been upon the whole somewhat alleviated. But as their officers and dependants are a set of people always prone to offer injustice; and these are entrusted with all the details, as well as Deputyships, whilst they make it a point to uphold the corruption and indolence of their masters; it happens that they become in fact the centre and hinge of all decisions; and all matters come to pass through their hands unavoidably, as it appears undeniably that such of their masters, as are preposed to these offices, will not, or cannot, attend personally to their duties. So that there is still left in the sneaker much of the late broth. *" O God, come to the assistance of your afflicted people, " and set open some door through which they may escape from*

A. D. 1782.

"*oppression!*" But let us return to our narrative about the several offices set up formerly by our Sovereigns.

The Muhtasib, an officer that had inspection upon weights, measures, and markets.

The Muhtasib (or Clerk of the Market) was established for the purpose of inspecting weights and scales, exposing to view the false bottoms and artifices of Corn-meters and Scale-men, and for fixing the price of grain and other similar commodities. He had a great salary, and some fees; but the latter were rather honorary; and the intent was to render him alert in putting a stop to all altercations and disputes between buyer and seller, by disabling the latter from over-reaching the other. The punition and coercion of the disorderly and insolent was also of his resort. It was his business in particular to take care that no drunken men, or any other people, out of their senses, should walk loose throughout the markets; that no injury or insolence should be offered to any one, by threat, action, or infamous words; and that modest women, obliged sometimes to cross a street or a market, should not be exposed to any insult or indecency, from the voice, hand, or sound of the profligate and thoughtless. But now, every one does as he pleases. The Muhtasibs take a great deal more perquisites than were heretofore their due; and in one and the same city the prices of grain vary in the same market, at the distance of three or four shops, nay of three or four yards; and the differences, varieties, and rogueries in weights and scales are risen to such a height, as not to be conceivable. Moreover, not only all the markets and thoroughfares are thronged with disorderly people, and disorderly houses, but every street and every corner is infected with drinking-shops and tippling-houses, with here and there groups of drunken servants, butlers, harcarras, qhalassies(126). and sipahis, but especially of servants belonging to the English, a set of disorderly people, who, availing themselves of the respect paid to the men in power to whom they belong, and of the influence they acquire by their being linked together, make nothing of lying in wait, sometimes half naked and half drunk, and quarrelling without an antagonist; nor do they make any difficulty of doing and saying whatever they please, and to whom they please;

(126) This word, which comes from *Qhalass*, tree, signifies sailors and seamen; and this name was given to sea-faring people, because when once on board, they were freed from the searches and animadversion of land-justice.

So that Gentlemen accustomed to decency and respect, are at a loss how to go from their homes, upon urgent business, through a market, or along a street, and how to come back again, without being entangled within some mischance or other, in consequence of the words or actions of those insolent people; nor is it uncommon to see them recommend themselves to God Almighty's safeguard on their going out, and to wish they may come back without being forced into some mischance.

The Vacaa-nuviss, Sevana-nuviss, and Harcara, &c,

The Vacaa-nuviss, or Remembrancer, or Gazetteer, and the Sevana-nuviss, or Historiographer, and the Harcara, or Spy, were appointed for writing down the events that might happen in the respective provinces, territories, and districts of their residence. Their duty was to inhabit such cities and towns as were the seats of command and Government, to the end that they might have it in their power to write down at day-break such events as should have happened the whole day and night before, and to send the paper to the Emperor. There were posts established, that carried the dispatches, with all speed, and in all weathers, to Court, where a Daroga or Inspector. examined the same; after which he reduced to a concise exposition the substance of such as deserved the Imperial notice, presenting at the same time, the whole detail as forwarded by the provincial intelligencers. Nevertheless whatever amongst those papers was addressed personally to the Emperor, was sacred, and could not be set open by any other hand than his own. It was perused by the Monarch himself, who alone could break the seal, and he alone ordered what he thought proper about the contents. By these means the Emperor was informed of every private man's affairs. He knew what one had done to his neighbours at four hundred leagues from Court, and what the latter had done to others; and what such an one wanted from such another, and what this other pretended from his antagonist; he knew all that, and gave directions accordingly. Nor was it uncommon for him to be informed by such a channel of the requests and wishes of the concerned ones; nor at all extraordinary to see directions arrive at the cities of their residence long before their private petitions could have reached the Court. So that the petitioners often had gained their cause in the middle of a distant province, sometime before they had agreed upon

The Emperor, by means of the post, minutely and daily informed of almost every material transaction amongst private people.

the wording of their petitions. But all this correspondence was for the Emperor's personal inspection only; for if at any time it came to appear, that the secret Gazetteer, or the Remembrancer, of any other public officer, had himself found means to acquire the least interest with the Imperial Princes, or with the Grandees of the Court, or with the men in eminent station, or was in any connections with them; such a man was forthwith dismissed, and another appointed in his stead; and to this purpose there are yet extant notes written by the Emperor Aoreng-zib's hand, to his own Vezir, Assed-qhan; and here is a copy of one:

Copy of a Note of Aoreng-zib-Aalem-guir to his Vezir.

Two singular notes in the hand of the Emperor Aoreng-zib.

"My grandson, Mahmed-muéz-eddin(127), has been writing "to me to recommend N. N. Remembrancer, of such a province. "Of course something must be done for him; but yet, the man "is to be dismissed from that office directly, that the Gazetteer "may remember to write Gazettes no more.

"As interest has taken place, abilities have been obscured;
"And a hundred sorts of films have covered his eye-balls(128)."

But the answer he sent to that grandson himself, is still more curious. Here it is:

"Dutiful sons, that are acquainted with their father's temper, "do not write recommendations in behalf of Gazetteers, and "such sort of people. Your request is granted, and the man has "been promoted accordingly; but yet, he has been dismissed "from that office. Do not commit the like offence again."

In short, as amongst the arts of government, information, and knowledge of the state of the land and of its inhabitants,

(127) He that reigned afterwards under the name of Djehander-shah.

(128) These are verses of the Emperor's composition, a Prince, who used to write an infinity of notes and letters with his own hand, and always to add at the end, or any elsewhere, some verses of his own. To a relation of his, Viceroy of Bengal, who had slided into some Hindoo customs, &c., &c., he wrote a letter of reprimand, which ended by these two elegant distichs:

Observe that the yellow is, as well as the pink, the favourite colour of the Gentoos; and that the Emperor had introduced the custom of wearing nothing but white throughout his Court.

Destar-i Zaafraani, ber fer,
Oo Djamé-i Erghavani, der ber
Sen sherif, Chehel sheah:
Aafrin, ber in rish oo vesh.

A yellow turbant upon the head,
And a crimson coat upon the shoulder;
Your Highness is, I believe, full forty-six:
This is making indeed a blessed use of your beard and mien.

hold a principal rank; and the interest of the Legislator's in gathering knowledge, is always to tranquillise and quiet the people of God, by whose providence the Princes and Rulers have come to have the command and power over them; and as the happiness and ease of the subject is their main concern; so, to obtain the above end, no less than four persons have been appointed to discharge the duties of this one office of intelligence, *to wit,* the Vacaäy-nugar or Remembrancer, the Sevanah-nugar or Gazetteer, the Qhofiâh-neviss or Secret-writer, and the Harcara or Spy, to the end, that should any one or any two of them attempt to send in writing an unfaithful account, still the truth and real state of things might soon be investigated, by comparing their information with the accounts written by the two or three others; a discovery always followed by the disgrace of the faithless or uninformed writer, who never failed to be dismissed from a post of honour and affluence, and to be consigned to shame and distress. Now all those offices being suppressed it comes to pass that, not only in villages, but in towns and in renowned cities, the servants, the favourites, the dependants, nay very often, the very spies and emissaries of a Zemindar, having wriggled themselves into the service of Government, commit upon the inhabitants a variety of opressions and exactions, and always with the utmost safety; nor is there found a single man to ask them what they are doing; so far from there being any one to inflict a condign chastisement upon them. It is then worth an observer's while to examine what kind of Government existed then, and how matters stand now; and what were the circumstances of the subject then, and what they are to-day.

The Fodjdars, or Military Commanders, of some frontiers and some difficult countries.

The Fodjdars were next in rank to the Nazems, or Military Governors of the provinces, and men of great distinction and note. Some of them exerted themselves so meritoriously as to leave behind them the very Nazems themselves, in whatever could promote the Imperial service. Their exertions were so continual and so strenuous, that those officers were sometimes more in favour with the Court than the latter, and often obtained more credit, and became objects of graces without number. These officers were fixed in each Soobahdary or Viceroyalty, according to its extent, and the number of refractory Zemindars or great Landlords in it; and several of these had under their

commands bodies of some hundreds of troopers, and were decorated with the military degrees of a thousand horse, some of a thousand five hundred, of two thousand, of two thousand five hundred, and some few of three thousand, and as far as four thousand, with a number of effective troopers, according to their stations, or the necessities of their post. They marched in state, with standards displayed, and kettle-drums beating, and lived with splendour and dignity in those towns and fortresses, which were fixed and reserved for their residences. All these, together with the Mansoobdars, the Paymasters, the Remembrancers, the Gazetteer, the Secret-writer, the Head Spy, the Cazy or Judge, the Mufty or Bishop, the Sadr or Grand Almoner, the Muhtasib or Clerk of the Market, the Imperial Divan, and the Daroga or Superintendent of the Justice-office, down to the very head messenger or Mirdaha, and down to his peons or messengers, and to the very Book-binder of that spot; all these were immediate servants of the Crown. Every one of these held their offices immediately under the Emperor, but were attached to some particular part of the country, and fixed to some particular duty; but in such a manner, however, as to be totally independent from the Nazem; nor could any great man or Governor-General divest the lowest of them, or turn him out of his office. As to the officers of the Divany, they were dependants of the Imperial Divan, or General-receiver, in whatever related to revenue and finances; but the Mansobdars or Military dignitaries with their paymasters and troops, were all dependent on the Fodjdar, who gave orders about arraying and marching their corps, chastising malefactors, or coercing turbulent people. The Fodjdar's special business was to take care that no overgrown Zemindar should make provisions of war instruments, such as musquets, or wall-pieces, in any great quantity, or should put in repair any old fort, or raise a new one on his own account. But if notwithstanding all those precautions, the Zemindar should avail himself so far of some neglect or connivance, or chance, as to compass any such design, then the Fodjdar was to require him to surrender the above articles, and to dismiss his troops. And in case of obedience, the Zemindar was to be forthwith removed from that spot and Zemindary; but in case he attempted to resist, then the Fordjdar was to attack him

An infinity of persons in each province, who were unders the orders of the Military as well as Civil Governors, although independent from them.

immediately, to chastise him with severity, to demolish his castle, and to act with so much expedition and vigour, as that the refractory land-holder should be reduced to extremity, and henceforward obliged to wear in his ear the ring of obedience, as well as to carry on his shoulders the trappings of submission, in such a manner, as to have it no more in his power to disobey or to resist. The Fodjdar was to drive the delinquent from that spot, and never to suffer his residing again in it, unless by a special order from higher authority; still less was he to suffer him to recover a footing in his former possessions. But in case he had been able to lay hold of him, he was to send him to the Governor-General, prisoner and chained, or to keep him confined until he might receive orders respecting the disposal of him. These he was to put in force, and to execute in a time of tranquillity; and meanwhile his business was to be attentive lest other Zemindars should turn refractory likewise, and invade the little Djághirs and possessions of those promoted to the enjoyment of Aimas, Amlacs, and other charity-lands.

Extensive duties expected from Fodjdars.

Another business of the Fodjdar was to give chase to banditti and highwaymen, so as to prevent their finding a place of retreat; he was to hunt them down wherever he could discover any of their footsteps, and to put them to the sword as soon as he had seen them. In short, wherever he could perceive a malefactor, he was to pursue him incessantly, until he had torne up by the roots the hairs of his existence and power; and in case any one of those banditti should assemble in troops, and dare to appear in such bodies as might bafflle or elude the exertions of one single Fodjdar, then the neighbouring Fodjdars were, upon his requisition, to join him forthwith, and to fall together upon the malefactors, driving them from post to post, and giving them combat upon combat, and engagement after engagement, until they had extirpated the whole of them. Nor did any banditti in those times dare to shew their faces in any of the lands belonging to the Revenue-office, or in the Amlacs, and Altimghas given to necessitous people; nor did they attempt to oppress or plunder even the lowest of the tenants or farmers resident on them.

With regard to the particular stations appointed to the Fodjdars in other provinces, I have not any information sufficient

on that head, nor would such a list answer any great purpose. But as to the stations heretofore appointed to them in the provinces of Bengal and Azim-abad, I know something of them, as numbers of them have lived, for years together, with honour and splendour in their offices, and they had formed friendships and alliances with the Governors of these countries. Now as our family has enjoyed commands and offices in those two provinces, I can afford a thorough notice of them; and as a mention of *them would be proper here, and in its place, it is hereby offered* to the public, and is as follows: The eight Sercars, or grand divisions of the province of Azim-abad were Shah-abad and Rhotas, Mongher and Bahar, Champaran and Sarun, Tirhoot and Hadjipoor. These had Fodjdars stationed, each of them with a body of from five hundred to one thousand five hundred cavalry, or more or less, with a proportional number of those Imperial officers mentioned just above, every one of whom were immediate servants of the Emperor's. Those Fodjdars, upon any sudden emergency of importance, used to leave deputies in their stations, and to join together, in order to repair in a body to the Nazem or Governor-General. Nay, when the matter became past their united power, the Nazems of two or three contiguous provinces joined together, without waiting for an express order from Court, and they provided for such an emergency, as the case required; or if the matter chanced to be of such a magnitude as exceeded their united efforts, it was proyide for by the Emperor himself, who receiving daily information from every part of the Empire, dispatched distinguished Generals from his Court, or even, if he saw fit, Imperial Princes, with considerable armies and large trains of artillery, who had orders to exert themselves with vigour in pursuing the expedition to a succesful issue, or as long as any breath remained in their bodies; and were exhorted to exhibit their attachment to the State, as well as their personal valour, in bringing to an end an affair of that consequence. Nevertheless, as some one happened sometimes to shew a remissness in the discharge of such a duty, such a one was forthwith exposed to the Emperor's displeasure, to the contempt and derision of his equals, and to a chastisement adequate to his demerits.

The province of Bengal was also divided into Fodjdaries; and, by what I can learn, into ten districts that had Fodjdars.

It was in the following order: Islam-abad-chatgam, Silhut, Rangpoor, Rangamatty, the Castle of Djelal-gur-poorania, Radj-mahal-acbar-nagar, Radj-shahy, Bardvan, Midnipoor, and Bacshy-bender-hoogly. All those parts had Fodjdars; but Djehanghir-nagar-daca had a Nazem of its own, with all the train of imperial officers, mentioned above. All these were attached to their duties, and by their good government, the people of God, as well as the nobles, enjoyed tranquillity and comfort; all districts were well governed and quiet; and the people of God, satisfied with the Emperor's munificence and kindness, were praying for stability to his reign, and length of days to his life. They rehearsed the praises of his clemency and benignity, knew no enemies but his, and no friends, but his friends; nor did they see their own ease and happiness any-where, but in the ease and happiness of their Princes. With their hearts and tongues, and hands and feet(129), they were zealously attached to their Monarch, and to any thing that appertained to him. In consequence of such administrations on one side, and such sentiments on the other, the country was populous and flourishing, beyond imagination; and the inhabitants contented and happy, as well as sincere. They lived with their doors open; for the means of subsistence being easy, and always at hand, the lowest, as well as the highest, contented themselves with being busy only by day; and at night they drank long draughts from out of that cup of ease and pleasure, which was presented them by plenty and safety; and they lived free from cares and anxieties. The intent of command and sovereignty was then no secret at all; it was abroad; and the truth and sincerity of elevation and dignity were public, and exposed to every one's sight. But the Empire having been declining these sixty years past, the Emperors became negligent, and the Grandees refractory and rebellious; so that every Nazem has set up for independent and for a King. But yet, as none of these thought of departing from those rules and maxims of government by which the Empire had hitherto flourished, their dominions continued to be in good condition, and their subjects lived easy and contented; so that few, very few of them, knew anything of sufferings and miseries; and matters remained in that condition, so

Happy condition of the Indians under their native Princes.

(129) Literal translation.

And latterly under Aaly-verdy-qhan.

late as the very time when Aaly-verdy-qhan possessed himself of these three provinces, and chose his residence in the middle of them. As he had a number of relations and friends, and most of these were men of merit and abilities, he promoted them to offices of importance and trust, in which they studied the welfare of the people, entrusted to their care. For this Prince, although naturally valorous, and of an ambitious, warlike turn of mind, joined to his natural keenness and penetration, so much benignity of temper towards his immediate subjects, and so much condescendence and lenity towards the Zemindars who behaved dutifully, that he seemed like a father living in his family, surrounded by his children and relations. He raised every one of his friends to offices, equal in dignity to that of Fodjdars, without, however, suffering them to become negligent or oppressive. Being studious of governing his subjects with every sentiment of benignity, love, and tenderness, very different in that from his predecessor, Ser-efraz-qhan, who suffered himself to be swayed by partialities about religion and rites, he looked upon all his subjects to be creatures of one and the same God, and brothers of one and the same mother; and he used to promote Gentoos and other dissenters, according to their merits, and just on a footing with the Mussulmen themselves. In fact, these people became his Ministers, and his men in office, were promoted to dignities of five thousand horse, and to offices entrusted with affairs of the utmost importance. No wonder then, if, having been made partakers of his fortune and powers, they not only remained quiet and happy, in the palm of that family's hand, but served it with an exemplary zeal. And such a conduct was founded in reason, as well as in policy; for an Emperor, or whoever may be in his stead, being in fact the shadow of God, he must render himself conformable to his prototype; and as the Almighty chooses to suffer the diversity of clans and religions amongst his creatures and He nourishes with an equal hand, those that obey and those, that disobey or disregard His commands, so it becomes the Princes and Rulers of this world to imitate His goodness in abstaining from such partialities, as would prove an inclination to one side.

In the reign of that family, the sums received from these countries were expended in these countries, and conduced to

their very flourishing circumstances. The inhabitants being easy about their own livelihood, were attached to his Government, lived quiet and happy during his long reign, nor did they ever feel any inquietude about their subsistence; no wonder after that, if no disturbances whatever were ever so much as heard of in his time, unless it was in a remote corner of these provinces, where resided some refractory Zemindars. At Azim-abad, for instance, the Bodjpoorias used to commit now and then some disorders; but the rest of these countries enjoyed abundance with a profound tranquillity. Matters lasted on that footing, until Aaly-verdy-qhan came to depart this life, after his three nephews had already departed theirs; and then there came upon the stage of the world such a man as Seradj-ed-dŏwla, a Prince equally proud and ignorant, whose fate we have seen, and a Mir-djaafer-qhan, a man destitute both of wisdom and common sense, as well as void of all religion, whose administration we have felt; and it was these two men, with their successors, that gave a total overthrow to all those institutes and maxims of justice and Government, which had rendered these countries so very flourishing.

The Zemindars too little restrained, and kept under in the English Government.

Under the English Government the principal Zemindars being now their own masters, and the hinges of all business in their own lands; and having been so lucky as to curry some favour with their masters; and all this in contrariety to former institutes, which held it as an invariable maxim, to keep them low; these people do now just as they please, and in what manner they please; nor do they make any thing of fighting amongst themselves, and killing and slaughtering their subjects; whilst the Fodjdar dares not to quarrel with them, and is even afraid to give them an order, or to revenge the oppressed ones upon those tyrants, or even to reclaim from their hands the property of those travellers whom they have despoiled. Or if at any time the Fodjdar chances to receive any such thing from their hands, he keeps it to himself, as if to verify those verses of Sheh-saady, (upon whom be mercy for ever):

> "Once a sheep was by a stout man
> "Rescued from the jaws and grasp of a wolf;
> "But at night the man drew his knife and cut the sheep's throat.
> "The animal, in expiring, did not fail to utter these words with a groan:
> "*To no purpose didst thou snatch me from the wolf's grasp,*
> "*Since at last thou provest to be a wolf thyself.*

The Fodjdary office, or Criminal Court, as it is exercised now, becomes one of the main grievances of the natives.

It is from such men that the English have received these countries; and from them have they obtained all the instructions they want. So that those strangers hearing, for instance, of the Fodjdary office, and how useful and salutary it was in former times, they have set up the like officers everywhere in their dominions, and, in imitation of the ancient Princes of this country, they bestow on them large sums of money, but yet to very little purpose, and to no benefit at all. For the office itself answers no other end in these days, than that of multiplying oppression, and of tormenting in private and public the inhabitants of those large towns and famous cities that had served in times of yore for stations to the former Fodjdars; insomuch that whilst the sobs and groans of the oppressed are reaching the very canopy of heaven, those officers go on approving themselves incapable of performing the business expected from them. The Fodjdary of these new Fodjdars is entirely pointed against the principal inhabitants of those large towns and cities, as we have been mentioning; for now it consists only in circumventing and involving unwary people, in every artful accusation and chicanery which they can devise, that they may squeeze from them a few pence; and this they do, without the least anxiety about their being called to an account, having already provided *a strong interest with the head of their brotherhood*(130), *and knowing full well, how little the English care about what concerns us, poor natives; and how little Hindostanies can find access to the Governor-General*(131), *or to the men in authority, so as to converse with them, and*

(130) Mahmed-reza-qhan.

(131) So the Author thought, at a particular calamitous crisis, when Governor Hastings, groaning under the weight of an exterior multifarious war, that devoured every resource of the Company, and harassed by intestine personal broils that gave him no rest; could afford very little of his time to private affairs; and yet it was at that very time that any man who had business with him, might speak to him from six in the morning to eight at night. But the Author did not mind that the number of speakers amounted sometimes to thirty, and we have counted eighteen in a morning. There is an adage in India, which says, that never will any man's worth be known, but when he is dead or gone. He is gone afar now; and if we may judge that extraordinary man by the standard of the public voice, the tide of admiration and regret runs now very high in his favour; the natives are unanimous in his behalf, and even amongst the English, the dissenting voices, if any at all, are but few.

to make a representation of their grievances. Hence those men go on in their iniquities with the greatest security, tormenting the people of God, by every artifice and oppression they can contrive. So small a branch of business as this, which in little cities was heretofore so easily performed by a Cutwal, with honour to himself and advantage to the public, is found to afford now employment for a multitude of illustrious Fodjdars, whose names and titles are such, that with the proud tip of their caps they seem to rub the canopy of heaven; whilst by exercising every art of oppression and injustice,

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As to the accusations brought in general against the English by the natives, they may amount to these: That of so many English that have carried away such Princely fortunes from this country, not one of them has ever thought of shewing his gratitude to it, by sinking a well, digging a pond, planting a public grove, raising a caravansera, or building a bridge; and that even where there are bridges already, they never fail to clog them with a toll, if they but make any slight repairs to any of them. These accusations are true, but cannot, however, much affect the national character of the English, who being to a man occasional sojourners, have no time to conceive an affection for this country; and the proof of this assertion may be found in the following particulars: Governor Hastings, who lived long enough in this country to have conceived an affection for it, has left ample proofs of his being a lover of it, as well as a keen-sighted Statesman. He has built and endowed at Calcutta a Seminary of Mahometan law, a settlement pointed out by policy itself, and useful to Government as well as to the natives. He has established, in the uncultivated parts of Bengal, colonies of invalid Talingas or Sipahees, to whom he has allotted waste lands, rent free; an establishment so obvious, so common in the Roman and in the Gothic feudal Governments, so like Colombus's egg, and which, however, never occurred to any one, but when it was effected and done; an establishment, which by conferring happiness on thousands of natives, has riveted the English dominion in this country better than would a hundred citadels. There is another important, very important, benefit conferred by Governor Hastings on this country; a benefit so unknown in Europe, so much unknown even to the English of Bengal, and [illegible] forgotten by the natives themselves, although they reap every day the advantages resulting from it. We mean the suppression of those numerous chokeys and toll-houses, that infested all the rivers, as well as every road in Bengal, twenty years ago. If then there remains still some internal trade in Bengal: if some new branches of commerce have been introduced; if an infinity of crimes, concussions, and oppressions of all sorts, have been put an end to; if disparitions of boats and crews have become incomparably less common, all that is owing to that suppression of those toll-houses, those sinks of all crimes; crimes and oppressions which all the world were exclaiming against, but which none but himself had either the genius or the courage to put an end to, by a decisive stroke that has secured twenty-five lacs of customs to the Company with no less ease to the governed, than to the Goverpors.

they render themselves odious and contemptible in every blind alley, as well as in every frequented market. Nor does it appear that their office, as established by the Governor-General and Committee throughout the Company's dominions, consists in any thing more than in suppressing the banditti, highwaymen, and thieves; in punishing those that dare betake to that profession; in hindering people from killing or plundering each other, and in providing against theft, fornication, and murder. All this business was easily done in the times of Aaly-verdy-qhan, as well as long before him, by the Cutvals in great cities, and even elsewhere by thousands of little Aamils and little Regissers who performed it better than these pompous Fodjdars of our days did at any time. The difference between those gentlemen, on one hand, and the Cutvals and Regissers of former times, on the other, consists in this, that these last, for fear of accusations and after-reckonings, did not dare to commit any oppressions, or insolences; whereas their successors, proud of their dignities and conections, and sensible of the neglect of the English in these matters, fear no man, and dread no consequence, but launch into every oppression which they can think of, endeavouring especially to circumvent by every species of chicanery, and to render contemptible and of small account, those men of ancient families and high descent, and especially such as have made it a point to keep clear of them; and if at any time complaints find their way to the Governor-General, they are hushed down by the authority and mediation of their head protector; who, for fear of accusations against himself, and of consequent dismission to his people, puts in motion so many resorts, and sacrifices so much money, that the poor injured one is kept asunder from inspection and redress.

Severe hints against Mahmed-reza-qhan, and his substitutes.

And now that we have been exposing, in a succinct, cursory manner, the institutes and maxims of this land, and have pointed out what end was intended in each of them by our ancient Lawgivers, it becomes our duty as Historians, to relate what is become of the intent and aim of those institutes in these our days; and to explain briefly, and with the candor of a faithful witness, such parts of the English Government as differ totally from, or even clash essentially with,. the customs and usages by which these countries have once flourished; for it is to this

diversity of customs and institutes, and to that contrariety alone, that we must recur, whenever we attempt to account for that constant failure which has attended every endeavour of theirs in whatever tended to bring order into this country; and it is to that cause alone that we are to look up for the origin of those troubles and those confusions that have been, and are, the bane and ruin of the inhabitants of this country. Let this animadversion of ours stand as a monument, that has found favour with the minds of the enlightened ones. Let it be instrumental in giving a turn to confusion, in transforming it into order, and in rendering it conducive to the relief of the oppressed people of God, as well as to the comfort of those that are suffering in their minds for the sakes of the oppressed ones. *O God, ! I ask Your grace. Vouchsafe me Your assistance*(132).

The country seeming to have no apparent master, is of course, under the predicament of a house untenanted.

It must be observed, first of all, that since the conquest made by the English of these three provinces, this country seems to have had no master at all, and this, because there is no apparent owner whose children and offspring might be interested in inheriting his estate. This is so far true, that even on the supposition that the English nation at large are the owners of this land, still shall it be acknowledged that the Company is not one individual. It is a numerous body; nor are the Members of it permanent. On the contrary, they are daily renewed; so that whoever chooses to employ his money that way, has only to join his stock to the old fund. and from that moment he becomes an associate, and is a Member of the Company; and therefore the constituent parts are never permanent; nor is any supreme ruler appointed, to whom every one, from year to year, may be obliged to render an account, and to shew his face. No wonder then, if in so short a period as these twenty years past, these countries have been blessed by no less than six or seven persons preposed to the Government of Bengal. Hence it comes to pass, that the man who is to be appointed, is not certain of his stay, nor has he full power over his business; he must consult and manage with four or five men that are called the Committee; and these are perpetually at variance with each other, and perpetually in suspense about their own staying, and their being succeeded by another. If then a house that has

(132) A passage of the Coran.

no owner is not likely to be tenanted, and such a house is likely to totter for want of repairs, and at last will become ruinous in a little time; so likewise a country of this immense extent, having no apparent master, must in time cease to flourish, and at last must fall to decay. And what shall we answer to a man that will tell us that a stranger always wants to draw his own profit, be it from a house or from a kingdom; that intent on his own views, he little cares about what ruins shall remain after him; and that it becomes highly improbable that for the benefit of his successors, himself meanwhile should forego his personal advantage by taking care that nothing be spoiled? Only if he be inclined to mind future examinations and after-reckonings, he will be cunning enough to manage so as that the ruin he is likely to leave behind be not imputable to him. Nor are we to expect that future Governors will be inclined to afford many exceptions to such a rule; for it is certain that all that has been performed by Governor Hushtin, was on the mere strength of his own genius, and by taking the events upon himself without being moved by the perpetual opposition which he continually received from the Members of the Committee, or being sensibly discouraged by their rancorous dispositions. Such an exception is too uncommon to be deemed a rule. It is what he alone had the courage to undertake, and what no one but himself would have dared to venture upon, and what no one, to this day, has attempted. Such an instance proves nothing against our assertion; for still will it be found, that in consequence of the necessity of yielding a little, and of paying a regard to the Members of the Committee, and in consequence of the dissentions that arose amongst them, many a valuable occasion has been lost; and it will be confessed by both sides that many a good business has been spoiled and undone for want of concert. Nor have we done with these broils yet, for we have yet to see in what manner all that great man's endeavours are likely to terminate.

Men of confessed abilities, and superior genius, eternally thwarted and impeded by majorities sent from Europe.

Nor is this case singular; it is that of all the persons under his Government. For the six districts into which the English had divided this country, are each of them governed by five or six persons, all disagreeing amongst themselves, and each of them a prey to endless divisions and disputes; nor is there a head over them all, with full power and authority. On the contrary, he that

might be their head, has not himself any hopes of his remaining long in his post; so that intent upon his own concerns, he keeps his ears eternally pricked up against every report of change and confirmation. Besides all that, there is another defect, and which is this: That if these five or six happen to differ essentially about any matter of importance, they are obliged to apply to the Governor and Council, and to wait for orders from thence. And this Governor and Council, obliged to partage their attention betwixt that infinity of public transactions and businesses that concern their dominions and conquests; and that other infinity of matters that concern their own state of personal warfare; what betwixt watching over their dominions in these provinces, and answering very long letters from Europe; guarding against their national enemies abroad, both in Europe and Hindostan, and providing against personal enemies at home; betwixt examining accounts of corors of rupees and providing for the Company's mercantile purchases; betwixt receiving as Sovereigns the revenues of so many dominions in their old and new conquests; what with these, and an infinity of other avocations, public or private, these men, with such a load of business on their shoulders, have no time to answer letters of Provincial Councils, or to give the proper orders thereon. They dispatch what business they think most urgent, and write answers to the Provincial Councils, just as they find time and opportunity; else matters remain at a stand for years together, in those parts, or are determined, at last, as the Provincial Councillors can agree together, or as it appears expedient to the foremost of them, or as it is most easy of execution, whether right or wrong.

The subordinate Rulers do not stay long enough in their employments.

Were any of those Gentlemen preposed to the direction of affairs, with a responsibility attached to his office; and were the regulation of those Provincial parts fixed on him, and himself allowed to stay long enough in his office to acquire knowledge and credit, so as to be convinced assuredly that the bad or good state of such a city would be laid to his account, and imputed to his management; there is no doubt but that such a man would look upon such a city as his own freehold, and would exert himself to the utmost of his power in promoting its welfare; there is no doubt but that such a man, for fear of after-reckonings about a diminution of inhabitants and revenues, would

give himself no rest in quieting and cherishing the subject, and in making that district flourishing and happy, whereby the country would become more populous, and himself would be the better for it in his private concerns. But as the Councils and Committees are packed up now, every one of the Members is intent only upon removing every suspicion of fault or misbehaviour from his own person, and making it fast upon his neighbour's shoulders; after which he thinks himself safe. No wonder then, if they are eternally at variance with each other.

It appears by ancient records that go back as far as the creation of the world, that whenever these countries have been invaded by foreign armies, the conquerors always divided into two distinct bodies, that had different views. Some of them, who did not intend to stay, and thought only of slaughter and plunder, made haste to display the standard of return, and to begone, as soon as they had got plunder and booty enough to gratify their avarice. Those men, wanting from this land jewels only and money, by whatever means they might be obtained, killed and plundered as fast as they could, and then went away. But there were others that thought in a quite different manner; and these intending to settle for ever, and to fix the foot of residence and permanency in these countries, had a mind of turning their conquest into a patrimony for themselves, and of making it their property and their inheritance. These never failed to assemble as many as had remained from the slaughter, and to cherish them in the palm of the hand of benevolence. These bent the whole strength of their genius in securing the happiness of their new subjects; nor did they ever abate any thing from their efforts, until they had intermarried with the natives, and got children and families from them, and had become naturalized. Their immediate successors having learned the language of the country, behaved to its inhabitants as brothers of one mother and one language. And although the Gentoos seem to be a generation apart and distinct from the rest of mankind, and they are swayed by such differences in religion, tenets, and rites, as will necessarily render all Musulmen aliens and profane, in their eyes; and although they keep up a strangeness of ideas and practices, which beget a wide difference in customs and actions; yet in process of

Benignity and tenderness of the Indian Emperors towards the conquered.

time, they drew nearer and nearer; and as soon as fear and aversion had worn away, we see that this dissimilarity and alienation have terminated in friendship and union, and that the two nations have come to coalesce together into one whole, like milk and sugar that have received a simmering. In one word, we have seen them promote heartily each other's welfare, have common ideas, like brothers from one and the same mother, and feel for each other, as children of the same family: and this is so far true, that from the moment the son of the new Prince had acquired the name of presumptive heir, from that moment submission and acquiescence became a thing of course, and an article of fashion, every one yielding to him a willing obedience, and thinking that none was so worthy of dominion and government as himself. And this sense of attachment became reciprocal: for the reigning Emperor and his Imperial Prince, looking henceforward upon this land to be their patrimony and inheritance, conceived as much affection for their new subjects, as if they had been their children; fully sensible that they would all join together so heartily in repelling the common enemy, as to make him lose every hope of any public or private assistance. For such is Sheh-Saady's opinion and precept, in these two verses:

The subject is a tree, if you cherish it;
You will eat of its fruit, to your heart's desire.

Those Princes, therefore, thoroughly sensible that the strength and firmness of their Government and power rested on the number and ease of their subjects, and the consequent cultivation of the land, did every thing in their power to keep them quiet and happy; and this is that which rendered their dominions flourishing, and the generality of their people contented and wealthy, and also submissive.

VERSES OF SAADY.

Be kind to the subject and fear nothing from foreign wars;
For when a king is just, the love of his subject is for him a mighty army.

I have had myself opportunities of seeing with my own eyes, and of hearing with my own ears, the consequences of good and bad government; and this happened at the time when the Shah-zada-aaly-goher, who is now our Emperor, under the name of Shah-aalem, was waging war against the English nation in the plains of Azim-abad. As soon as it became certain that the Imperial Prince intended an expedition into the province of

Bahar, and that he was coming to Azim-abad, there was not an inhabitant, or a citizen, who, on the strength of the favours and good government which they had formerly experienced from the Prince's forefathers and ancestors, did not pray for victory to him, and for prosperity to his undertaking; they seemed to have but one mouth and but one heart, on that subject, although not one of them had yet received any favour from him, or tasted of the crumbs that might have fallen from the table of His Goodness. But when he came himself, and they experienced from his unruly troops, and from his disorderly Generals, every act of oppression and extortion imaginable; and, on the other hand, they saw every day what a strict discipline the English officers of those days did observe, and how those amongst them that travelled, carried so strict a hand upon their people, as to suffer not a blade of grass *to be touched or spoiled, and no kind of injury to be offered to* the feeblest man; then indeed the scales were turned, and when the same Prince made his second and third expedition into those parts, I heard the people load him with imprecations, and pray for victory and prosperity to the English army. But those same people feel nothing for them now, fully sensible that these new rulers pay no regard or attention to the concerns of Hindostanies, and that they suffer them to be mercilessly plundered, fleeced, oppressed, and tormented by those officers of their appointing, and by their other dependants; those same people, I say, reduced now to despair, have altered their language, and totally changed in their hearts, on finding that their rulers had so far altered from what they had seemed to be.

Amongst the various grievances complained of, this is one of the most stinging kind. The head Harcara, or head Spy, in several of the best English houses, never fails to become their Major Domo, and the hinge upon which turn most transactions, although he should be, as he is in general, a man of the lowest clan, and of the vilest kind(133). This man, for the sake of shewing his power, is ever disposed to use Gentlemen of ancient or illustrious families in an unworthy manner. Should any one of those unfortunate

(133) There are in Hindia clans, or tribes, doomed from all eternity to contempt, humiliation, and to the lowest and most loathsome offices of society, nor will an Indian, although ready enough to put up with a foreigner or any other man, bear to see any of those vile-born fellows in office; a delicacy which is interwoven in the Hindian religion and temper, and which is too little attended to.

men, tired of eternal insults and stoppages, carry his humiliation so far as to submit to such usage, and dishonor himself by making a present, he is allowed to walk farther within the house, and to appear in the master's presence; else, if he pretend to intrench himself within the prerogative of his rank and birth, he from that moment becomes exposed to a variety of affronts and indignities, and he is suffered to languish in the yard with the crowd, without being ever permitted to go as far as the master's hall of audience. This head Spy, already linked and in confederacy with the Moonshy, (or Persian Secretary), and the Divan, (or confidant), as well as with every one of the dependants of that house, gives what turn he pleases to any petitioner's business, and meanwhile he enjoys the highest influence in the decision; whilst Gentlemen of high descent and great pretensions are left in the anti-chamber, ranged against the wall like so many statues, and in fact they are deemed so many by-standers of no account. This grievance is to be found, not in this or that house, it is found in all. Every man in office has such a household, upon such a pattern, and such a set of people about him; and although he be not the actual ruler of the country, yet wherever he goes, he is sure of acting as Sovereign. Now every household being composed of such a set of servants, as have been described, it follows that as the people of this land stand, every one of them, in the relation of subjects, with respect to the English, it may be easily conceived what must be the case of the former, and how little probability there is for their *yielding a blind obedience to such a numerous set of masters, and to such numerous sets of servants and dependants.*

The first cause of the decline of the prosperity of these countries is the natural unsociableness of the English in general, and the inaccessibleness of their rulers in particular.

The second cause, which contributes to raise a wall between the conquerors and the conquered, is their differing in language, as well as in almost every action and every custom in life.

The second cause is the difference of language, and of almost every action in life, between the conquerors and the conquered.

The tongue, which is the key of the treasures of the heart and mind, and which serves as a medium to strengthen the bands of society, as well as an organ to unlock the secrets of the heart, happens to be deprived of its office between the Hindostanies and the English. Most of the English Gentlemen do not understand the language of their subjects, and none of these last understand a word of English. It follows, of course, that a company of Hindians, having business with their English rulers, looks very much like a number of pictures set up against the

wall; and this happens not only because the Gentlemen having always a deal of business of their own to transact, cannot afford much of their time to others, but chiefly because they cannot understand each other, and are unable to have a communication of ideas. Whence it follows that no benefit is reaped by either description of men from such an intercourse; but as the Hindians are always the petitioners, they always prove the greatest losers from that inconvenience, being always at a loss what to do next. And if the Moonshy or the Divan happen to be the interpreter of communication, and the canal of comprehension and explanation, it becomes necessary for the petitioner that, after having said a few words to the master, he explains the rest entirely to the Moonshy, on which occasion the latter asks the whole matter over again; and it is seldom but the suitor is thereby put off his guard, and gives rise to much discontent and much dissatisfaction on either side. Were these men now, who rule everywhere, to remain for a length of time in command, they would become acquainted with the language, customs, and usages of one district, and would acquire a full knowledge of the several individuals that dwell in the same; nor is there any doubt, but that they would rule much better, and become much likelier to promote the welfare of the people, than would be a stranger, who always comes thoroughly unacquainted with either men, language, or country.

On the other hand, as these rulers have all their necessaries from their own country, it follows that the handycraftsmen and artificers of this land suffer constantly, live in distress, and find it difficult to procure a livelihood sufficient to support their lives. For as the English are now the rulers and the masters of this country, as well as the only rich men in it, to whom can those poor people look up for offering the productions of their art, so as to benefit by their expenses? It is only some artificers that can find a livelihood with the English, such as carpenters, silver-smiths, iron-smiths, &c; nay, they subsist upon better terms than they did under the Hindostany Government, and possibly two or three trades more, the names whereof I cannot now recollect, may fare the better for these strangers. But as to those numerous artificers of other denominations, they have no other resource left than that of begging or thieving. Numbers,

therefore have already quitted their homes and countries; and numbers unwilling to leave their abodes, have made a covenant with hunger and distress, and ended their lives in a corner of their cottages. To heighten this picture now, let us imagine that at such a time of general distress and want of employment as this, when to get a meal at night is become a matter of so much difficulty, we are perpetually cursed with shoals of peons or messengers, and constables of the Fodjdary office, all let loose upon the necêssitous people, whom they torment by every invention which chicane and accusation can contrive. These wretches, under pretence of diet-money to themselves, harass the people with so much cruelty, that the shaft has sunk to the quick, and the knife has cut through to the bone; and it is thus that the Fodjdary office, originally set up for the ease of the subject, has been perverted into a scene of extortion and tyranny. Nor does such an evil come alone and by itself; it comes along with the want of employment, and the want of subsistence, and over and above the vexation of being often impressed for public service. Nor does that evil make any distinction betwixt the high, the low, or the middling; nor is there any one to recur to in so much distress, but God Almighty. As the English Gentlemen, to rid themselves of the necessity of hearing these poor people, have made them over to the Fodjdars; and these Fodjdars, with their substitutes, find their own welfare in undoing these poor people; they go on without remorse in their iniquitous proceedings, and make nothing of spreading every day upon their table the carcass of some wretched as an addition to their dessert.

The melting of the candle affords a hold to the moth:
The oppressor finds his livelihood close to the oppressed.

Thanks be to God, that since the Fodjdary has been taken from the Indians, and lodged in the hands of English Gentlemen, these violences have ceased, and the weather has a little cleared up for the poor. May God grant that, in other matters likewise, evil may be changed into good!

The third cause is the endless variations and mutations in posts of trust and importance.

The third cause that hinders the tranquillity of the country, and proves a bar to the happiness of the people, may be found out in the endless variations in the persons appointed to posts of trust and charges of importance.

In this country the custom was, first of all, to enquire thoroughly into any one's faculties and abilities, to examine into his fitness and into the goodness of his character, and then to appoint him to an office, where, as soon as his talents, his exactitude, and his good management had been put to the test, he was confirmed, of course; and he acquired daily an experience, which enabled him to dispatch business with so much vivacity and steadiness, that life was like a parterre laid out with odoriferous flowers of delightful hues. But these rules and maxims are not adhered to by the English. They appoint to offices, at their pleasure, or on powerful recommendation, or on the seniority of rank, without minding whether the appointed is completely incapable of fulfilling his duty, or unlikely ever after to acquire abilities. For it has been often experienced, that one of them being appointed to an office, to which he was a complete stranger, managed so well as to acquire a stock of knowledge and abilities that would now entitle him to such an appointment, of course, were he to be appointed hereafter to it; when lo! presently such a man was transferred elsewhere, and another appointed in his stead, who was as complete a stranger to the duties of that station as had been the former; and whereas the English have besides a custom of coming for a number of years, and then of going away to pay a visit to their native country, without any one of them shewing an inclination to fix himself in this land; hence ignorance and incapacity come to be transmitted from hand to hand. And as they join to that custom that other one of theirs, which every one of those emigrants holds to be of Divine obligation, I mean, that of scraping together as much money in this country as they can, and carrying it in immense sums to the kingdom of England; so it is not surprising at all if these two customs, blended together, should be ever undermining and ruining this country, and should become an eternal bar to its ever flourishing again. The case was different heretofore. It was these Gentlemen that imported every year gold and silver into this land, where joining that which was already in the land, it procured an abundant circulation, and promoted every one's good. Still notwithstanding all those discouragements, it happens sometimes that a man once promoted to an office, acquires in a course of years such a stock of knowledge, and such abilities,

as afford hopes of his continuing in it, and of his ruling according to those abilities of his which he has been at so much pains to hoard up; when straight there comes upon him a group of two or three men from Europe, who know nothing of business, but are superior to him in rank, or seniority, or influence; and these take possession of his post, while the man of abilities and merit, disgusted and discontented at his being deprived of what he deserved, thinks of going home, and of leaving the field to the disposal of the ignorant new-comers, who now sit in his stead, and in their ignorance of men and things, are immediately surrounded and hooked in by a set of wary, artificious fellows, who, *by hanging out false lights, and shewing them pretended flowery paths, and false gardens evergreen*, find means to lead them by the nose, and to become meanwhile the centre and hinges of every matter of importance, to the utter ruin of all the good which their predecessor had done, and to the disturbance of all the regulations which he had been at so much pains to establish; and years elapse and come to pass, before these new-comers become qualified enough to hear of the practices of these their dependants. But even supposing that the able and experienced man above, foregoing his journey home, should choose to stay amongst the new-comers, nevertheless, as matters are to be transacted in a Council, all his efforts and all his speeches prove to be of no avail, unless the three uninformed new-comers choose to listen to reason themselves, and to enforce his regulations on their side. We have even seen that these men, being very often misled by their informers and dependants, as well as carried away by a desire of becoming themselves the centre of all transactions, are very apt to pay no regard, and to afford no confidence, to the representations of the able man above; but on the contrary, sure of a preponderance enforced by a majority of, for instance, three or four to one, they put shackles to his feet, and hinder his proceeding in business; all which we have seen to pass, when the Governor-General was overpowered by General Clavering and his party; nor do matters go much otherwise in the six departments of Bengal.

The fourth cause is the slowness of proceedings in the Governing Council.

The fourth cause is what they call the Council. That Council is an assembly similar to that brought together by the second Qhalif, for the purpose of choosing a successor to himself,

but in which his intention was to debar the females of the Prince of the Faithful from those rights fixed on them by Divine institution(134). It signifies an assembly of Gentlemen intent upon a particular business, where if there be a diversity of opinion, that opinion gets the better, and is approved of, that has most Members on its side; whereas if the votes be equal, then as the Governor, in consequence of his superior station and dignity, is counted for two men, his side prevails, just as it did happen in Abdol-rahman's Council. But that method, although extremely advantageous, (since penetration and safety are always to be found where there is consultation,) has nevertheless its inconveniencies. Now it is a condition requisite in all consultations, that the person who is to give his advice, should have deserved to be trusted, and also that the foot of private views and partialities should not find admittance in the assembly; conditions that are not to be found in the English Council, and which probably did not exist in the Arabian one neither. Such assemblies, besides, are to be wished for only on such occasions of extraordinary importance, as embarrass the minds of the uncertain, and stagger the feet of the most discerning; and noways in the details of execution, and still less in every small matter, and every minutiæ that may occur. Such a system gives rise to an infinity of disturbances and confusions, and perpetually impedes the wheels of Government; especially where the business requires dispatch and vivacity, or where it is a question to determine differents, or to send necessary orders. The rules of the Council happen to be such, that whatever business has come to be

(134) The Prince, or First of Believers, is Aaly, cousin and son-in-law to Mahomet; for although Qhadidja, the Messenger's first consort, and *Zéid*, his servant, had already believed, Aaly made no account of them, as they were of the house, and he continued to style himself the First of Believers. The second Qhalif, or successor to Mahomet, that is, the second Arabian Emperor, was Omar; whose intention in assembling that Council was to fix the succession upon Osman, or Othman, who in fact did succeed him in the Qhalifat, to the exclusion of Aaly, who did not become the fourth successor till long after. This preference was worth to Osman seventeen stabs, which were given him by the enraged partisans of Aaly; a bloody transaction, of which the latter remained so much suspected, that when Moaviah, cousin and Secretary to Mahomet, openly revolted against that fourth successor, and rejected with indignation his first commands, he ordered Osman's bloody shirt to be fixed to the top of a spear, and, in his first battle, made use of it as his principal standard.

offered to the Governor of Calcutta, or to the ruler of some other place, at the present moment, or has been prayed for by the petitioners this long-while, all that is kept in store for the day of assembling the Council, when the above affairs are proposed in that assembly, the respective Agents and Advocates attending the same; at which time, if all that store of business is put an end to, and is determined, the Council give their answer in the form of a decree; else, the petitioners are to wait for another Council; and as over and above the multiplicity of public business, there are at all times dissensions in that assembly, and a diversity of opinions, whether out of friendship to any one, or out of disgust to the petitioner, whilst there is often an opposition of votes, as for instance, when two of the Members side with one person, and two or three more support another, or because some enmity has been conceived by one of their dependants to the petitioner; hence a sensible man will easily conclude that a determination becomes difficult and nearly impossible. And thus, after numbers have been consuming their time in attendance, if any one should, by chance, come to gain his cause, it proves that upon the whole he is no gainer at all. Heretofore there was in every district a Chief, a man of knowledge, abilities, and experience, who determined with an absolute authority in every matter, and every difference; nor had he more than two or three principal dependants. On a first representation from a petitioner, the matter was immediately taken up and examined, and a determination was instantly given, to the best of the Chief's abilities. After a proper examination, an order, where necessary, was issued, and the plaintiff went away, either the same day, or a few days after, with his award in his pocket. So that matters had an end, one after another; nor was it necessary, as it is now the case, that a man, after having spent years of his time in expectation, and great part of his life in attendance, should, at the end of that, find himself disappointed and undone. In the beginning of the dominion of the English, where there was but one Chief to apply to, and but one able Deputy, as Radja Shytâb-ráy, and others, to transact the minutiæ of business, the affairs of the natives went on briskly, and were dispatched, in some manner or other, but still were dispatched; nor was the people of God obliged to undergo such doubts and such losses of time, as

we see to-day; and although those times were not free from partialities and private views neither, yet upon the whole matters flowed on swiftly, be it in what manner soever it seemed best to their rulers. Nor did the miseries of endless delay and endless expectation melt mankind away; nor did the people of God become the victims of endless altercation amongst their rulers. For I remember that on the dismission of Radjah Shytáb-ráy, when Mr. George Vansittart was appointed Chief, and became the centre of all business, I took the liberty to represent to him, "That Radja "Shytáb-ráy used to spend his time from one-half of each day "down to one-third of each night in hearing petitions, and in "giving decisions, by which assiduity he dispatched much business, and gave a great deal of ease to every one. I added, that "the people of God, deprived of such a man, would very naturally "express their anxiety, about what might be his pleasure now "on that head." He answered that, *being not accustomed, like Shytáb-ráy, to sit in public amongst hundreds of people, nor to listen to complaints, and to determine causes, he could not believe that he would be able to comprehend one-half of them; but that those that had any business with Government might apply to himself privately, as he conceived that in the recess and silence of a closet he would be more recollected and better able to give a decision.* Upon this I requested that orders should be given to the sentries to admit all comers, and directions to the ushers or chopdars to introduce every one. Immediately he gave the necessary orders, and they proved strict orders; and as he was a mán of quick apprehension, and very active in body and mind, and could not bear to have his lesson taught him by a Moonshy or Secretary, or his task dictated to by a Divan, or indeed by any man, he proved to be as good as his word, and he constantly dispatched a great deal of business. This state of things did not last, and the affairs and petitions growing numerous, people began to suffer from delays; when after a little time Mr. Law arrived, and wiped clean the eyes of the people of God with the sleeve of goodness and affability. After this, God knows, what is likely to happen. For it appears that to find out one single man's way, and to be upon good terms with him, is an easy matter; or if he be discontented, it is not difficult to make up matters with him; but

to find one's way to the favor of fifteen or twenty persons, or even more, that compose a Council, (including their dependants and officers), or to guard against their resentment, is a task very difficult and complicated, and such as exceeds the power and abilities of a poor suitor, and indeed such as would prove above the patience of any one. Never was this so well brought to the proof as after Radja Shytáb-ráy's dismission, and the establishment of a Council in his stead. It was at the festival ending the Ramazan, or month of fast, when the Nobility, Gentry, and principal men of the city, who used in that day to offer their nezurs to Radja Shytáb-ráy, were necessitated to pay that mark of respect to every one of the five Members of the Council. Vansittart, on seeing this, could not help observing openly, that whoever hitherto had been clear with presenting one mohur or one rupee only, would be now obliged to provide five, which was what many could not afford; whereupon having conferred upon the subject with the others, he published, that at the next festival of the Corban or Sacrifice, people should present one nezur to the Chief only, and that would be enough, as no other was wanted, or expected; and in fact, so it came to pass. But some professed flatterers, who wished no good to any money that might remain in an Hindostani's pocket, went out, notwithstanding the prohibition, and, to shew their sentiments of respect to greater advantage, they repaired to the houses of the other Members, and presented a particular nezur to each of them. Some that could ill afford the contribution, did the same, lest the Gentlemen, thinking themselves slighted, should bear them a grudge; and those that were utterly unable, submitted to their fate, and remained moping in their corners.

The fifth cause arises from the extreme difference betwixt the English way of giving public audience to suitors, and that which was customary in these countries, and also from their engrossing everything to themselves.

The fifth cause consists in the difference betwixt the manner in which the English in office appear in public, and give audience to suitors, and that in which it has been at all times customary to hold a Durbar in this country.

Our illustrious Sovereigns of Hindostan, those Princes so studious of justice and equity, had it in custom to divide their time for different purposes, and had made a rule of that distribution, on which they never encroached by any other occupation; but in that division, two kinds of businesses held always the first rank. The first was the examination and decision of affairs

relative to revenue and Government; the second the rights of individuals, and the rules of distributive justice to the people of God. For each of these purposes they had set apart two days in the week, at which time they appeared publicly in all their pomp, grandeur and glory. They were surrounded at some distance by their Ministers and officers; and they gave a general audience, where any one might present his petition himself, and speak to them face to face; by which means the Sovereign being informed of the state of the country, and of the behaviour of its rulers, could provide such a remedy as the matter required; and by such means he became acquainted with the wants and complaints of his subjects and dependants. But as those Princes did not live in one and the same place, but made a travelling circuit almost every year, of course they had opportunities of hearing with their own ears, and of seeing with their own eyes, the circumstances of the subject and the necessities of the country. In the same manner they spent two days in the week in rendering justice, and in hearing the cries of the oppressed; nor did they shew any impatience at the screams and reproaches of the crowds that pressed upon them. Matters are far from being so now with the English Gentlemen, as these (and this has been already hinted at in the foregoing sheets) hate appearing in public audiences, and whenever they come to appear at all, it is to betray extreme uneasiness, impatience, and anger, on seeing themselves surrounded by crowds, and on hearing their complaints, and clamours. Hence it follows naturally that they must be in the dark with respect to the real state of the country, and the circumstances of the subject; and hence multitudes of people remain deprived of the sight of their rulers, and never see any thing of that benignity and that munificence which might be expected from people that now sit on the throne of Kings, and figure as the representatives of Emperors.

The Indian Princes, extremely accessible.

Their lenity in putting up with the reproaches and abusive language of disappointed suitors.

VERSES OF SAADY.

"Here is the only condition on which a ruler can live;
"And this is, that he be master of the circumstances of the last of his subjects."

If the English, in imitation of those to whom they have succeeded, vouchsafed to set apart some of their time for these laudable purposes, and at certain stated times, gave admission

indiscriminately to all people, and heard their prayers by themselves, with gentle manners, and personal enquiry into the circumstances of their suitors; it is certain that even so small a change would gain their hearts, and would render them fearless and intrepid in exhibiting complaints, and representing matters against the very servants of their rulers; and although all this might not be brought to bear without some expense, and some trouble, on account of their being not accustomed to that practice, yet the benefits resulting from such an intercourse, would prove to be innumerable, and would be felt by both sides. May God grant that, as a favor to them and to us, there would result from that mutual commerce a nearer and more beneficial acquaintance with the inhabitants of this climate! For having once got acquainted with one individual, and tried his degree of ability, and his particular talent in business, they could station him accordingly, and oblige him as his rank or abilities might point out; and as they should come to know to what particular business he is fit, they might draw such services from him, as they should wish, or think convenient. Now all this is not attainable, without personal intercourse, and without inquiring into the characters and tempers of men; still less without observing every one's behaviour in a variety of circumstances, by changing the discourse, and hearing him speak on a variety of subjects, especially in this time and age, when there is so much envy and obloquy, and so much slander and artifice in every transaction.

The sixth cause is, that the English are engrossing all the trade of the country, and depriving the inhabitants of their accustomed livelihood.

The sixth cause is that the English have deprived the inhabitants of these countries of various branches of commerce and benefit, which they had ever enjoyed heretofore.

Munificence and generosity of the ancient Princes.

Our ancient Princes, who after the tumult of conquest, had conceived the project of making their homes of this country, were generous enough, after appropriating to the Crown the conquered provinces, and the principal revenues and tributes, to establish a vast body of pensions, and Djaghirs(135), for

(135) The *Djaghir* is a grant of land, severed either from the immediate demesnes of the Crown, or from the usual revenues of a province. It differs from the *Altumgha* in this, that the latter is irrevocable, although reversible, whereas the former is both reversible and revocable. The *Amlacs, Aimas, Méded-máashes*, &c., &c., are lands set apart for charitable uses; for instance, to afford a subsistence to the physician of the town or city, to decayed noble families, and also to some Ministers of the Church, although these last are provided for by Church-lands or *Vacss*.

Altumghas and charity-lands, as well as to associate in the enjoyment of their conquest, most of their principal relations and principal followers, together with the most considerable men of the land itself; and at the same time they had left open to the subject various ways of revenues and livelihood, amounting to many corors a year, as a provision for the bulk of the inhabitants. Djaghirs, to the amount of lacs, and revenues, to the amount of mighty sums, were bestowed on Noblemen, whether Musulmen or Hindoos, and indeed upon any others indifferently, according to their stations and merits, with the hope of further preferment, in proportion to their abilities and exertions in the service. And in fact, nothing was more common than to see these Noblemen promoted to higher emoluments, after having exhibited further proofs of their zeal and activity; nor was this munificence restricted to their own nation. Old friends or new ones, old subjects or recent ones, all, of whatever religion, nation, or tribe and profession they might be, were made partakers of their bounty; but old, decayed people amongst them, and the necessitous, together with the children of their old servants and followers, as well as the poor and needy, from whom prayers only and good wishes could be expected, were relieved with gifts of Altumghas, Amlacs, and such other lands, which were set apart for pious uses, and which they quietly enjoyed. As to the other ways of deriving incomes, for instance, from merchandising, and from the exercise of arts and trade, all these were left open for all the world; and although they were made to see various branches of revenue in those articles, they never turned their eyes that way, but left all that for the bulk of the people. Over and above that, thousands and hundreds of thousands of men(136), horse and foot, were kept in constant pay, whether in the service of the Emperor, or of the Governors of provinces, and they all enjoyed an easy livelihood. Compare now those multitudes with even that small number of men that still get a livelihood by enjoying Djaghirs and Altumghas in the English dominions. Even these, *in*

(136) The troops of the Empire, under Shah-djehan, whether near the Emperor's person, or stationed in the frontiers or in garrisons, amounted to above eight hundred and fifty thousand men; and under his son, Aoreng-zib, to near a million, one-half of them cavalry.

consequence of the inattention of the English to the concerns of us, poor Hindostanies, and in consequence of the power left to their dependants and to extortionary Zemindars; in consequence, I say, of the cruelty of their lease-takers, and of the hardness of heart and faithlessness of the subordinate rulers, even these poor people also are come to experience a variety of losses, injuries and damages. For it is notorious that abuses have crept into that branch of the administration too, as it has been already mentioned in the article of charity and legacy lands, and in that of that Atheist, Zehoor-ollah-beg; and thanks be to God that there happened to be over against that flinty-hearted man such a person as Governor Hushtin in this land, and that the sufferings endured by these poor people for the space of a whole year's attendance, were rewarded at last by the Governor-General's having the goodness to remove that load of evils which oppression strove to place upon their heads. On the other hand, out of that vast multitude of people, called musqueteers, whose numbers were heretofore counted by ten thousands in these provinces, only a small number of them have obtained a livelihood by inlisting as Talingas in the English service; and yet it was these two provinces that fed and paid regularly forty or fifty thousand horse, which were either in the Viceroy's service immediately or mediately, in that of his sons or relations and officers, or in that of the principal Zemindars of the province. Thousands and thousands of merchants followed that numerous cavalry, and according to their respective means and callings, found a certain income in their connections with them, and in their turn afforded a livelihood to multitudes of others. Now matters go otherwise. Service for troopers and cavalry, there is none at all; and of the various branches of trade, heretofore open to all, none is left free. They are all engrossed by the Company themselves, or by the English in general; as these, whether they enjoy the Company's service, and of course have power and influence, or chance to be otherwise circumstanced, very seldom are without concerns in trade. But if, with all that, it happens that most of the superior military officers, whilst shewing a shyness for trade, are really merchants invested with high powers and authority, how can the poor subject pretend to derive a subsistence from merchandising?

No livelihood left to the Natives; and yet it was these two provinces that kept in pay no less than fifty thousand cavalry, and twice as much infantry.

Would they dare it? On the other hand, thousands of artificers cannot earn enough to support their families, as has been shewn a little above, because their arts and callings are of no use to the English; nor can it be expected that the Nobility of this land, reduced as it is to that distress which we have already pointed out, should afford to take the works of these people off their hands, and to give them employment, as they used to do in former times, by keeping them always busy, sometimes in their own houses. It is even become a matter of wonder, and a subject of thanksgiving to the Divine Goodness, how these poor people can make a shift to live now, and how to this day most of them go on and endure, with their children and families.

Advice to the English, to take into their service a body of Hindostany cavalry.

Were the English to take into their service some thousands of that cavalry, once commanded by such renowned Officers as Sheh-muéz-eddin-qhan and Ahmed-qhan, and the like, there is no doubt but these men would render them important services, in their wars against the cavalry of either the Marhattas or the Sykes, especially if care was taken to attach them to the service, and to excite their zeal and emulation; nor would these military services be the only advantages to be reaped by entertaining such a cavalry. There are some others that would arise collaterally to such an establishment, as for instance, a further facility of livelihood to the people in general, an addition of numbers to the farming tribe, and an increase of revenue to Government.

The seventh cause is in the exorbitant powers left to Zemindars.

The seventh cause may be found in the overgrowing power of the Zemindars, and in their being trusted too much.

The Zemindars deemed at all times, and in all ages, a race incorrigible.

It is deemed an undeniable truth amongst the men of sense of this land, and it was a standing rule amongst the Princes of these kingdoms, that no trust is to be reposed in the words of a Zemindar, not even in his most solemn promises and treaties, as they are, to a man, a refractory, short-sighted, faithless set of people, that mind nothing but present interest, and require always a strict hand. Our Government took care, therefore, that they should not get an opportunity of resisting or disobeying, and likewise that they should not acquire the means of resistance and obstinacy, as they are evil-doers by profession, and at all times disposed to injury, and to distress the people of God; ever ready to infest the highways, to plunder and kill the travellers and the unwary; ever ready to torment the subjects, and even

the Nobles, to destroy the country, to ruin the revenue, and to distress and injure Government. All these are the accustomed performances of that malevolent race; and it was to keep them in awe, and occasionally to administer correction to them, that so many illustrious Fodjdars were stationed with such a number of officers and dependants. No trust was reposed in their words, nor in their actions; for their character was thoroughly understood. They were looked upon to be an incorrigible race. Now, in contradiction to ancient maxims, and to rules of old standing, and in contradiction to the most approved opinions, held equally by eminent merchants, as well as by knowing Princes, the English rulers have thought proper to compare the Zemindars of this country to the Zemindars and land-holders of their own; men whose possessions amount to no more than a few thousand yards of ground, or at most to an estate of two or three cosses in circuit, and who being all men of education and honor, pass their lives in enjoying their estates and beautiful seats, and in keeping open tables. It is to such men that the English Government has ventured to compare the Zemindars of Hindostan, and by comparision, to repute them men of honor and sentiment, worthy of being held in esteem and consideration, and deserving to be entrusted with full powers over their Zemindaries or estates; and yet it is these very men of honour and sentiments that ruin the whole country, torment the men of distinction settled of old in their lands, and are waiting only that time and opportunity may put it in their power by some extraordinary event, at once to display the standard of rebellion and dispute, and to raise commotions of consequence. They live quietly now, and astonished at the heavy blows they have felt from the hand of the English, as well as overawed by the superiority acquired everywhere by that nation, they wink at the state of things, and meanwhile, sure of the interest they have obtained, they silently pillage and oppress mankind; whilst the English rulers at the same time seem not to believe their conspiracies, and their malevolence and oppressions, or to have within their breasts some scheme, which to us, ignorant men, is yet a profound secret.

Strange mistake of the English, in comparing the Zemindars of India to the landed Noblemen of England.

The eighth cause of the declining state of these countries may be ascribed, as it has been already observed, to the

The eighth cause is the slowness of proceedings in the Council of Calcutta, and in all subordinate Councils.

enormous delays experienced in obtaining decisions from th Governor and Council, or in receiving the answers requeste by the Provincial Councils and others. Those delays aris from their being, both the one and the other, extremely occupiec by their own concerns, and eternally busy in attacking or in defending, as well as from their being overloaded with an immensity of public business; a deplorable situation, that necessarily occasions those incredible delays which dishearten, which amaze, which ruin and overwhelm every one that has the misfortune to have any business with them. Were a man of consequence appointed to hear such petitions at stated times, for the purpose of making his report to the Governor and Council; and were the necessary answers to the Provincial Coucils liable to fewer delays; such a change undoubtedly would conduce to the ease and happiness of multitudes of people, and the Governor and Council would hear their names proclaimed everywhere, as being the cherishers of the inhabitants of this land, the true lovers of justice, and the benefactors of mankind; nor could such a change hurt the English interest in any manner. But thanks are due to God Almighty, the Author of all good counsels, that since these lines have been written, I have heard that a lesser Committee has been appointed on purpose for such affairs, and that the standard of expectation and impatience being let down, some relief has been administered to the poor, despairing suitors of this country.

The ninth cause is traced in that custom of the English, who give offices and employments to seniority and priority of rank.

The ninth cause is, as it has been already observed, that the English pay too much regard to seniority, whereas, it is talent and abilities that are the matter in question, and not seniority of service or recommendation, whenever it is necessary to fill up a post of consequence, and to provide for the happiness of a whole people. If without deviating too much from the rules of service, Englishmen of capacity, discernment, and experience, were sent into the several districts, where their character should have time to ripen, with a certitude of being fixed in that particular branch of business; and if after having deserved the confidence of their owners and of the public, they were left to enjoy their office, without fear of being displaced; and if to so salutary a measure, Government added, at the same time, that other of sending into each district a man of sense,

kowledge, and credit, for a Divan, who, in a capacity similar to those *Canun-goes,* or Chancellors of old, appointed by Islamshah, should be made independent of any revolutions in the Council, unless indeed he should prove guilty of some misdemeanour; there is no doubt but mighty benefits might be derived from such a regulation. But at the same time it would be requisite that he should never lose sight of this, that as the Members of the Council are Englishmen, that is Lords and masters of this land, it is incumbent upon him never to deviate, either in his words or behaviour, from that respect which behoves him, both as a subject and a servant. It is requisite, likewise, that the Gentlemen, once sensible of his being an useful, zealous man, and an old attendant on that board, should listen to his advice in all matters, and not suffer their particular *Divans* and *Moonshies* (Secretaries) to engross all to themselves. This was a precaution constantly attended to, under George Vansittart, and also under Mr. Ayoun Law. Whenever such a trusty servant at any time becomes guilty of any misdemeanour or infidelity, he must be punished in proportion to his guilt, that others of the same office and station, taking warning from his disgrace, may not deviate from the path of integrity; and if ever it shall be convenient to establish such a Council, it would be proper to diminish the number of Members, so as that they should not exceed the number of two or three; for the multitude of rulers never fails to produce confusion in business, and diffidence in the minds of the subject, and to be upon good terms with such a number of men, is impossible for poor people, as we have already hinted. It is proper also that in appointing a Fodjdar, with all his dependants and officers, the utmost precautions should be used, taking care to prefer not only none but men of experience and capacity, but also none but men of a humane disposition; and it may be even said that, as Fodjdars go now in these days, there needs none at all. In the cities, the Cutwal will do all that business, full as well, if he be equally able and humane, and little inclined to oppression, and in the country, the man in office or ruler is enough for such a purpose. For when those officers, so appointed, shall know that people can approach their masters, and that there may be instituted inquiries and after-reckonings upon them, you may rest assured

that matters shall go on smoothly; that multitudes shall be released from distress and miseries; that the intent of dominion and Government shall be fully answered; and that the Grandees of the land and the people of God shall exert their tongues in displaying the encomiums of such beneficent rulers. Let us then put up our prayers to God, that He may vouchsafe to grant such a blessing! *For He is the best succourer, and the best helper*(137).

VERSES OF SA'ADY.

"Seek out the man fearing God, and appoint him over the subject;
"For he knows his business, and will prove the architect of their happiness.
"Ill means he to thee, that ruins thy people,
"Or seeks thy profit in oppressing thy subject.
"To intrust such people with power is an enormous fault;
"And an enormous fault to lodge a command in those hands, against which all raise their hands to Heaven.
"Cherish the virtuous man, and leave the evil-doer;
"For if thou do'st cherish the bad, thou art an enemy to thine ownself."

Thanks be to God that the Fodjdary office having been transferred to the English, one thorn has been thereby removed from the sides of the people of God.

The tenth cause is the partiality of the English to their own countrymen, and also to the meanest of their dependants.

The tenth cause is, that the English are too partial to their own countrymen, and even to their dependants.

As the people of this country have all of them become subjects to the English, and they have no other protector, and no other supporter or comforter besides, but God Almighty; as they have no other masters, from whom they should expect mercy and forgiveness; it is incumbent upon those new rulers of theirs, that in whatever concerns distributive justice and the welfare of the people of this land, they studiously emulate the scrupulous equity and the innate impartiality of our ancient Emperors, without betraying any partiality to their own countrymen, or to their dependants, nor to those Hindostanies in high offices under them. On the contrary, they must at all times steadily make justice their main object; as such a conduct shall do honor to their national character in this world; shall gladden the hearts of the high as well as the low; give satisfaction to the Almighty Scrutator of Secrets; prepare a sure consolation for their old age, and prove a resource in adversity; strengthen their numerous conquests; procure them new ones;

(137) Passage of the Coran.

establish their dominion solidly; and extend their renown all over the world. Saady says:

"God Almighty is bountiful to him that renders justice.
"Be beneficent, be forgiving, and never be uneasy about your reward."

The under-officers and dependants of this department ought to be chosen amongst the very meekest, amongst the foremost of those that seek the pleasure of their Maker, know the importance of religion, have high notions of fidelity and integrity, despise recommendations, and detest bribery and corruption. They must perpetually tremble for their own honor and character, keep them always in view, and pay no regard to any thing, but God's pleasure, and the commands of their masters. Attention must be had, whenever men of this sort shall be found out, that they receive such a liberal salary from the generosity of Government, as may free their minds from anxieties about their own welfare, and that of their families and children; such a liberal provision as will leave their hearts free and at liberty to secure the garment of their honesty and integrity from being sullied by the dirt of bribery, and the mire of corruption. Thanks be to God! that this department also having been transferred to the English Gentlemen, the nails of the Indian Darogahs of Justice have been curtailed, and the people of God have gained some release and some repose from their enormous sufferings.

The eleventh cause is the establishment of what is called the Supreme Court of Judicature.

The eleventh cause is the Supreme Court of Judicature established in Calcutta.

It is hardly possible not to connive at misdemeanours, and not to forgive trespasses; for man by his nature is liable to forgetfulness and neglect; and should punition and retribution be always intended, and always administered, few persons would be free or exempted from the misery of punishment.

"Nothing but dust is to be seen over this immense plain;
"Let us cover our eyes, and pass over it, as quickly as we can(138)."

In inflicting punishment and retribution, it is important to adhere to the modes in use in a country, and highly proper to pay a regard to the honor of every one, be he the meanest individual; for men easily submit, and willingly acquiesce, to whatever they find usual and established in their country; nor

(138) This alludes to the custom of never travelling by day in some parts of Asia, without carrying over the eyes a kind of muffler, of muslin, or of horse-hair. In the hot weather they travel by night.

do they ever conceive fears and apprehensions on that head. But when they see any supplice unaccustomed, they think that every thing is upside down, and that the world will soon be at an end. This is the idea which people have conceived of the actions and customs of the Supreme Royal Court. That tribunal has power over all the English, from the highest to the lowest, but sits in judgment by seasons and stated times. A whole life is needful to attend their long, very long proceedings; and till a decision is given, there is no comprehending what is going on, and what is likely to follow, nor what is the probable end of the business. On the first complaint lodged by any one, be it ascertained or not, the defendant is obliged to find security to double the amount of the demand; and if he cannot afford such a security, the poor man must go to prison; and if he cannot find bail, or the complaint is not withdrawn or hushed down, he must remain in prison ten or twelve years together, whether he be guilty or not guilty. Add to these miseries, that to translate a petition in the English language, the translator exacts as many eshreffies (or double guineas) as there are lines translated; and over and above all those evils and miseries, so unworthily heaped over the heads of the poor Hindostanics, it is to be lamented that, on the first summons of that Court to answer to a complaint, whether proved or not, whether real or frivolous, and even to give evidence on so small a matter as his having once heard of the affair in question, or his having been somehow acquainted with it, (although in fact he should be no witness at all), a poor man must directly forsake his family and children, leave them in misery, want, and distress, and run down for a whole month's journey to a spot where both air and water are bad(139); and if before his arrival the term of the Court be over, or its Chief be gone out to some other country for a change of air, then the

Customs of that Court submitted to in England, but reputed enormous hardships in India

(139) There was a time when Calcutta was unhealthy. But since that time, so many drains have been cut in its territory, so many ponds filled in its precincts, and so many thousands of trees have been felled down, to the southward of it, from whence blows the cool wind in summer, that Calcutta is become a healthy place. Add to this, those broad streets, bordered by lofty airy houses, looking like so many Palaces, and it shall be acknowledged that no city in India can be handsomer or healthier; for the houses, instead of forming, as in Europe, contiguous rows on each side of the street, are every one of them insulted, so as to receive air from every quarter.

poor man must, without reason, and without subsistence, endure whole months at Calcutta. Nor is that all. There are other troubles and other miseries to be undergone at that tribunal, such as no one in Hindostan has even seen, or so much as heard of; the least of which is, that the English laws and statutes are so enormously voluminous, that were a man to spend his whole life on them, still the attaining a full knowledge would be impossible. After all these miseries, how painful it must be to a man, to be in the dark about the event, and all the while in a cruel suspense about his fate; constantly bereft of his family and beloved children; and without being able to guess at what is to become of himself at last?

Preserve us, O God Almighty! with the whole multitude of your servants from such evils and miseries, if Thou really art the granter of requests(140).

The twelfth cause is found in the English indulging too much in certain abusive customs of theirs. For instance, they trust too much, on one hand, to the representations of their dependants, making nothing of appointing them enquirers, especially whenever one has a complaint against any one of them, or against any of their associates; and, on the other hand, they pronounce in private upon matters relative to punishments, to murder, to the honour of families, to the pudicity of women, or to much property. Now in such delicate cases it is next to impossible for the oppressed to have redress, or for the injured to recover their property. It becomes therefore proper that, in cases of so much importance, the Governor-General and the Committee, as well as the Members of the Provincial Councils, should make themselves present to the oppressed, face to face. It is even to be wished that such matters should be examined in public audiences, and that after having patiently heard what the suitor has to say, examined thoroughly the tales of the plaintiff and defendant, compared the circumstances of the oppressed with the commands of God, and with the rules of distributive justice, and made the utmost efforts for discovering the *lining of coats*, and for probing the depth of secrets, then that they determine the matter in their own high wisdom, without shewing favour to one side, and frowns to the other; then

The twelfth cause is, that the English decide in private what ought to be decided only in public.

(140) An Arabic prayer out of the Coran.

only ought they to pronouncè over its merit, by giving right to whom right is due. And may God Almighty, out of His Divine goodness, grant such days both to them and to us!

VERSES OF SAADY—SHIRAZ.

"And now, after having said so much, we recommend you to God, and are gone.
"But should there be no inclination in any ear to listen to our message.
"Then the messengers have done their duty, and there lies no reproach against them.
"Nor is any thing obligatory on us, but the task of pointing out the right
"way with the finger."

Let us now return our acknowledgments to God Almighty for all His numberless favours, and let us pay to His Divine beneficence, in particular, some inadequate praises, for His having vouchsafed to carry to an end this valuable book, by making use of so inconsiderable an instrument as the slit-tongued reed(141), and the very humble ministry of this most inconsiderable of mankind, that is, Gh8lam-hosséin, son of Hedáiet-aaly-qhan, grandson of Séyd-allim-ollah, and great-grandson of Séyd-fáiz-ollah-Tebateba, who descended in a direct line from the branch of Hassen, (on all whom may God's forgiveness and mercy rest for ever, through the intercession of His Messenger, and that of His Messenger's venerable heir(142), as well as through the merits of their pure and innocent offspring, on all whom may peace and forgiveness rest for ever, to the end of time!) If by the favour of the Omnipotent Lord of all benefits, this fragile portion, allotted to my share of life, should chance to last some time longer, it is my intention to complete my narrative by continuing the history of the several reigns of Mahmed-shah, and Ahmed-shah, and Aalemghir the second, as well as by adding to the chain such events as are relative to his son, by carrying the links from the twenty-third year of Mahmed-shah's, (which corresponds with the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-three of the Prophet's retreat, on whom be peace for ever!) down to the present times.

(141) From Gibralter, and from Belgrade, to the Ganges, the pens are made of reeds, called Calam in Phœnician and Arabic, whence we have the Greek and Latin words of *Calamos*, *Calamus*. At a couple of hundred leagues farther than the Ganges, they use neither feathers, nor reeds, but only pencils.

(142) Aaly was that heir, and he transmitted that right to his two sons, Hassen and Husséin.

From God is assistance to be hoped for, and favour; in truth, He is most merciful(143).

This has been closed the twenty-first day of the month of Moharrem, in the year one thousand one hundred and ninety-fifth(144) since the venerabe retreat of that Holy Being, on whom may grace and mercy rest for ever!

(143) An Arabic passage of the Coran.

(144) The present time of our Author answers to the Christian year, 1781-82.

SECTION XV.

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THE lovers of History, and those fond of enquiring into the diversity of events, will remember, doubtless, that in closing the Second Volume of the Review of Modern Times, which was finished in the year 1195 of the Hedjrah, by this humblest and most inconsiderable of the sons of men, Gholam-hosséin, son to Hedáiet-aaly-qhan, grandson to Séyd-aalim-ollah, and great-grandson to Séyd-fáiz-ollah, the Tebatebäite of the race of Hassen, (on all whom may the Divine mercy and forgiveness extend for ever!) I had carried that history as far down as the twenty-second year of the Forgiven Emperor, Mahmed-shah, answering to the year 1152 of the Hedjrah; to which history, I had thought it incumbent upon me to add a full narrative of the affairs of Bengal, being invited thereto by the novelty of the matter, as well as borne away by the number and variety of events that crowded upon me in that particular part. They remember doubtless, I say, that in closing that Volume, I had promised, that if I lived, I would continue the History of that Emperor as well as that of his successors. I do, therefore, undertake to fulfil that promise of mine, in humble hopes that the Bestower of unasked benefits, and the Conferer of unexpected favours, after having assisted me in my former Work, shall vouchsafe to support me in bringing my whole undertaking to a completion; and that by illuming with some of the rays of His Goodness, the dark understanding of this vile instrument, He shall vouchsafe to direct, with a faint emanation of His unerring wisdom, the trembling pen, and the defective style, of this insufficient individual, so as to keep them unsullied by the blemishes of error, and untainted with the vices of partiality. For He is the Omnipotent One, and the worthy Bestower of Favours.

We have already observed, that Nizam-el-mulk, under pretence of a hunting party, but really out of discontent against

the Court, had marched out of the capital, and had encamped in its neighbourhood, where he was loitering these many days without any apparent purpose; nor was his intention guessed at, but on the seventeenth of Moharrem, in the year 1153 of the Hedjrah, when that Viceroy hearing of the resolution that had lately taken place at Court, and of Emir-qhan's departure for Ilah-abad, returned to the city, and paid his respects to the Emperor. Some months after he received repeated intelligence that his son, Nizam-ed-döwlah-nassyr-djung(145), listening to the suggestions of some impudent and thoughtless advisers, acted in an independent manner, and had intirely shaken off all respect for his father's authority. The old General, obliged to bring his son to order, obtained the Emperor's consent for his departure, and as his intended expedition became incompatible with the exercise of his office of Prince of Princes, he first obtained that his eldest son, Ghazi-eddin-qhan, should be invested with that dignity, as Deputy to his father; and on the fourteenth of the first Djemadi, he set out for the Decan. But as he was perpetually endeavouring to reclaim his rebellious son, and a deal of time was spent in negotiations, and in sending and receiving messages, nine or ten months had already elapsed before he could arrive in the territory of Aoreng-abad, where he encamped on the western parts of that city; and it was the seventh of the first Djemady, in the year 1154, when the father finding that neither reasoning nor entreaties made any impression upon that unnatural son, gave him battle, and took him prisoner, after a sharp engagement, in which the rebellious son was wounded. But this short Civil War in Decan did not interrupt the tranquillity of the capital, nor of the Empire.

Nizam-el-mulk beats his own son in battle, & takes him prisoner.

After Emir-qhan's departure for his Government, Issac-qhan's favour reached to the cupola of Heaven. He became the most beloved of the Emperor's favourites, and at the same time the disintersted advice which he had secretly given in behalf of the Vezir Cammer-eddin-qhan and Nizam-el-mulk having become public, he was likewise cherished by the two latter, as their best friend. New honours and new emoluments were heaped upon

(145) This Nassyr-djung is the Prince assassinated by his own officers, who were in the confederacy with Mons. Duplex, Governor of the French Fortress of Pondicherry.

him, and besides the Qhalissah-office, that is, the controul of all the expenditure of the public money, he had the command of a Brigade of Cavalry. The latter was so much increased, that several thousand horses were to be seen at one time, all marked with a *Kaf*, which was the last letter of his name. He was likewise the Lord on whom the Emperor reposed the greatest confidence. But fate did not permit him long to enjoy so high a degree of favour. His eyes swelled at once, and the swelling gaining his nose, he sunk under his distemper, and in five or six days' illness, he departed this fragile world; and having answered his Lord's invitation, by the words, *I am ready*, he repaired to the mansions of the Divine Mercy. It was in the month of Safer, of the same year. A few days after his demise, the Qhalissa-office, which he had left vacant, was conferred on Abdol-madjid-qhan, a Cashmirian, and he was installed in it with a Qhylaat of six pieces(146.). Issac-qhan having departed his life, on the second of Safer, his three sons, on the ninth, paid their respects to the Emperor, who received them with the greatest kindness, and distinction; and each of them was honoured with a Qhylaat of mourning. The eldest of them, Mirza-mahmed, had his name changed into that of his father's, Issac-qhan, and in a little time he got so deeply in the Emperor's good graces, that the Monarch was often heard to say, that if Issac-qhan had not left Mirza-mahmed behind, he did not know how he should have been able to go through life. His tenderness for the new Issac-qhan rose so high, that it was customary with him to take the latter's son, then a child, within his throne, and, contrary to the established rules, to make him sit over against himself, like an Imperial

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(146) The Qhylaat is always composed of rich stuffs; but a Qhylaat-matemi, or of mourning, is always of Muslin, dyed black or green, and is put on immediately but always sett aside after one day. There are other tokens of mourning used in Hindostan, as for instance, dirty clothes, a disordered turbant, a neglected beard and body.— The body is always carried to its grave within the day, and from that moment victuals cease to be prepared in the house. Friends and relations take care for three days to provide for the family. The third day they are all invited to a commemoration, nay they come without invitation, when a prayer is pronounced over some Betel or *Paan*, and some flowers, the lacter of which are sent to the grave, whilst the former is distributed to the invited, for whom victuals have been dressed in the house, part of which go to the poor. The fortieth day this ceremony is repeated, after which the family bathe, purify themselves, and put on clean clothes. This ceremony is also performed the ninth or tenth day. It is called T8l--pan, and also Maatem-porsi.

Prince. He was no less profuse in his kindnesses to the two younger sons of the late Issac-qhan, who were Mirza-aaly qhan, and *Mirza-mahmed-aaly*.

It was in this same month of Safer, that Badji-rāo, the famous Marhatta General, departed his life, after feeling for some days a pain in his bowels. By his death, the Viceroyalty of Malva being deemed vacant, the same was conferred on Zehir-ed-döwlah-Azim-ollah-qhan, who had espoused the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan's sister. This nobleman, who was very inconsiderate, having had the imprudence to accept so dangerous an office, was invested in his new Government with a rich Qhylaat. But it availed little; for he had never borne a character for much prudence and great abilities. The Fodjdary of Bessöulah was at the same time conferred on Himmet-dilir-qhan, who received the investiture of it in a Qhylaat of four pieces, to which was added a Sabre; and he set out for the Capital in the month of the first Reby. A month after, a Qhylaat of confirmation for the Fodjdary of the Dö-ab, was bestowed on Djani-qhan, a Tooranian, who had given his daughter in marriage to Muäïen-el-mulk, son to the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan. In the month of the second Djemady, Intyzam-ed-döwlah, second son of that Minister, who on Qhandöuran's being slain in the battle against Nadyr-shah, had been appointed Viceroy of Adjmir, was dismissed to his Government; and a few days after, Semsam-ed-döwlah, who bore the same title as his father, Qhandöuran, received an additional grade of a thousand horse, in consequence of which his Military rank rose to the command of seven thousand. About the end of the year, and in the night of the twenty-seventh of Redjeb, Mir Fahr-eddin-qhan, one of the sons of the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, married the daughter of the late Muzaffer-qhan, brother to Qhandöuran; and these nuptials were celebrated with pomp, as were those of Intizam-ed-döwlah, the Vezir's eldest son, with the late Qhandöuran's daughter, on the night of the first day of the Ramazan. A strange event closed these rejoicings. The third of Moharrem, of the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-four of the Hedjra, happened to be the New Year's Day(147).

(147) This is very remarkable, as the Solar festival of the Nöu-rōz is a day of rejoicing, and the first ten days of the Lunar month of Moharrem are deemed days of mourning.

On the twenty-fourth of Shaaban, of the same year, a daughter was born to Mahmed-shah, from Sahabah-mahal(148), daughter to Sofian-sooltana-begum, which last was sister to Malekah-zemani, daughter to a sister of Saadat-qhan. This Princess had chanced to be seen by Mahmed-shah, who fell in love with her charms, and having married her, brought her to the Mahal-sera, or Seraglio. About this time, Azim-ollah-qhan, having proved by his ill conduct how little able he was to get the province of Malva out of the hands of the Marhattahs, was neglected by the Emperor, and fell into contempt; he was an opinionated obstinate man, who gave so many proofs of ill conduct, that even the Vezir himself, his kinsman, whose sister he had married, conceived a disgust against his manners. The man, incensed at these marks of general contempt, resolved to shew his resentment in his turn, and had the imprudence to quit all at once the palace of the late Aaly-merdan-qhan where he resided, and to go and encamp without leave at the Char-bagh, a seat belonging to the Vezir, as if to change his ground, exactly like one who intended to set out on an expedition. The Emperor, shocked at his behaviour, vacated his office of Sadr-el-soodoor, and bestowed it on Sheriat-ollah-qhan, who had enjoyed it before. At the same time, the command of the Goozer-bans, or door and way-keepers, was conferred on Agher-qhan, the Turk; as was the Fodjdary of Sohaten-poor on Hafiz-eddin-qhan. This Agher-qhan was, with some other Commanders, ordered to watch and attend Azim-ollah-qhan's behaviour and motions, and they kept round his post for some days; when the man, being sensible of the imprudence of his conduct, thought proper to repent, and to return to his house, where, having dismissed his troops, he lived retired. This same year, it being the Festival of the Sacrifice, a Comet, with a tail of a full yard in length, made its appearance in the sign of *Caper*, inclining to the south. At last it turned to the north, and after having shined for a full month, it disappeared. And on the thirteenth of Moharrem, being the beginning of the year 1155, the Nöurooz, or New Year's Day, was celebrated with the usual ceremonies. There were some more promotions this year.

(148) *Sahabah-mahal* signifies the Lady of the seraglio; and *Maleka-zemani* signifies the Queen of the age.

Radj-mahmed-qhan, the Cazi of Cazies, that is, the Supreme Judge of the Empire, having departed his life, his office was conferred on Moorad-eddin-qhan, and this nobleman was installed in that high dignity with a Qhylaat of four pieces. In the month of Redjeb, Sheriat-ollah-qhan, the Sadr-el-soodoor, son to Mir Djumlah, that great favourite of Feroh-syur's, departed his life. It was in this year that there happened a conjunction of two Planets, in the end of the sign *Leo*, according to the Astronomical Tables, drawn up under the inspection of the learned Radja Djehi-sing-ketchvaha, by the mathematicians, Mirza Qhäir-ollah and Shek.Mahmed-äyed, who comprised their observations in a book, commenced and finished under Mahmed-shah. But according to Ooloogh-beg's Tables(149) this conjunction happened in the beginning of the sign of *Virgo*.

In that same year, Azim-ollah-qhan, tired of living private in his house, eloped from it, and for the second time quitted the city, with an intention to go to Lahor. He was that same day pursued by the sons of the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan and Haïder-cooly-qhan, at the head of the Regiment, called of Cabool, and of some other troops, amongst which was the body of two thousand horse belonging to the Artillery. Azim-ollah-qhan, sensible of his being pursued, made so much haste, that in eight days he arrived at Lahor, where Zekeriah-qhan, who was allied to him, (the two Noblemen having married the two sisters,) received him in his palace, and made him a present of elephants and horses, and of every thing else requisite to appear like a nobleman of his high rank. Meanwhile, those that pursued him, coming to the gates, the Governor received them with respect, gave them an entertainment, and, after having put to them many questions about their ulterior orders, he delivered his brother-in-law into their hands, and dismissed them, satisfied with the reception they had met with. The two officers having marched without stopping, carried their prisoner to Shah-djehan-abad, where he was, by an Imperial order, confined in the Citadel. In this same

(149) An European would be surprised to hear who this Astronomer is. He was not only a Tartar, but also a Prince, Sovereign of Boqhara, in Euzbeg-Tartary, an Historian, a Warrior, and a Geographer. As an Astronomer only, he is vastly superior in abilities to Alphonso of Castille, and he had measured a degree of the earth, several centuries before Picard had thought of his line across all France, in Louis the Fourteenth's time.

year, on the last day of the month of Shawal, there happened, in the sign of *Virgo*, a conjunction of the Planets, of bad omen (150). On the seventeenth of Zilcaadah, the Emperor set out of the city on a hunting party, and encamped in a garden contiguous to the town of Louly; but a few days after he was seized by an Esquinancy and a palpitation of the heart, which was soon followed by a pain in the side, and by a swelling that disturbed the animal excretions, and impeded the admission of liquids as well as solids. He was immediately requested to lose some blood, and to suffer an application of some leeches. But this not affording the desired relief, he returned in a few days to the Citadel, where, after some repose, he found himself better. The Nöu-r8z, or New Year's Day, fell this year on the twenty-fourth of Moharrem, of 1156. On a Tuesday, being the seventh of the first Djemady, of the same year, Saad-eddin-qhan, Mir-ateshy, as well as Steward of the Imperial Household, after having made his obeisance to the presence, went home, and, about midnight, he found himself ill of a pain in the bowels, of which he expired before day-break. His son, having, a few days after, made his appearance before the Emperor, received a Qhylaat of mourning, with the confirmation of his father's two offices; to which was added a fringed Paleky, and an augmentation of his Military grade; so that he was now Commander of five thousand horse, and Grandmaster of the *Imperial Palace, as well as Steward of the Household*. In this same year, an Imperial order, backed by notes in the Emperor's hand, was severally dispatched to Emir-qhan, Viceroy of Ilah-abad; to Ahool-mansoor-qhan, Governor of Aood; to Zekeriah-qhan, Viceroy of Lahor, and Moltan; to Radja Baht-sing, Rathor; and to Radja Dehiradj-djehi-sing, as well as to several other persons of distinction, requesting their immediate attendance at Court. Nizam-el-mulk likewise received a similar order; but that Viceroy excused himself upon his great age, and the debility of body inseparable from it. The truth is, that being at the head of six Soobahdaries, or Viceroyalties, he thought himself strong enough to decline going to Court; he had besides resolved on conquering the kingdom of Carnatic, had already besieged and taken the fortress of

(150) Jupiter and Mars, or rather Saturn and Mars,—as those of good omen, are Jupiter and Venus.

Tir-china-pally(151), and received Arcat at composition. As to Radja Dehiradj-djehising-sevai, he died the seventh of Shaaban, which was about the time of the Hindoo Festival of the Dessara, when three Ranies or Princesses, his consorts, with three of his concubines, and some of his dancing-women, thought proper to follow him into the other world, and burned themselves together with his body, on his funeral pile, which in the Indian language is termed to become *Satti*(152). We have said, that several Viceroys had been ordered to Court. Abool-mansoor-qhan, on receiving the Imperial command, referred himself for his compliance to Emir-qhan, his neighbour, of Ilah-abad, with whom he was closely connected, and to whom he acknowledged himself beholden for his promotion. That keen-sighted nobleman, thinking that bringing a General of that character to Court would redound to his own honor and advantage, exhorted him to comply with the Imperial mandate, and, on the other hand, Abool-mansoor-qhan having conceived that his affairs would receive some benefit by making a stay at Court, resolved to make the voyage; and he tarried sometime to complete his preparations. Radja Nevol-rấy was ordered to act in his absence as his Deputy. This was a man whom he had raised from a common trooper in his service, to the highest dignities at his Court, and whose abilities and zeal were so agreeable to him, that he had lately made him his Paymaster-General. After making his mind easy on that subject, and spending some more time with his several Governors and Deputies, he fixed a day for his departure, as he had given his word to Emir-qhan that he would be in the Capital, a few days only after him. The latter put his affairs in order, and left for his Deputy, Syëd Mahmed-qhan, an Iranian, renowned for an heroical bravery, which had greatly raised his character, when he commanded at Corrah. After that he set out on his journey, and on the twenty-ninth of Ramazan, he arrived on the strand of the Djumna, over against the venerable Citadel of the Imperial city. There he was met, two days after, by the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, who on that day, which happened to be the festival ending the fast, came out of the city, took him on his own elephant, and carried him to his palace. On that

(151) Once a great city, and fortress, in the Carnatic; but now greatly fallen.

(152) This word is an adjective, coming from *Sat*, which signifies *together*.

same evening, Emir-qhan went to Court, and had the honor to pay his obeisance, and to kiss the columns of the Imperial throne.

As to Abool-mansoor-qhan, on the day destined for his departure, he heard that Sëyd Hedaïet-aaly-qhan, my father, (in whose company I had the honor to be, being then a very young man) was coming to Feïz-abad-Aood; upon which he sent Semi-beg-qhan, his introductor, to receive him at some distance from the city. My father having embraced Semi-beg-qhan, came with him to Feïz-abad, where he paid his respects to Abool-mansoor-qhan; but as that Viceroy was going to mount, and waited only for the favourable moment, the visit was an abridged one; and my illustrious father landed at Semi-beg-qhan's house. In about an hour after, Abdol-rahim-qhan, Astrologer to the Viceroy, having seen the sun in his astrolabe, sent word that this was the favourable moment; and the Governor mounting immediately, went and took his quarters in his Pish-khana, or set of spare tents, that had been pitched for him in a camp at a short distance from the City of Feïz-abad. There he stopped a few days, and then set out for the Capital, carrying with him, not only the best part of his troops, but also his whole family. Being arrived at a particular spot upon the Ganga, between Cannodje and Mekenpoor, famous for the Monument of Sha-Medar, he stopped four days there, both to pay his respects to that venerable spot, and to throw a bridge over the river, with the boats which he always carried with him over land. The bridge being ready, he first dismissed his Deputy, Radja Nevol-räy, and then bestowed the Fodjdary of Qhaïr-abad on my father, to which he added this compliment: "You are already fatigued by a long voyage, and I therefore "leave you to take some repose; but should you not agree with "Raja Nevol-räy, then you shall come to me again at the "Capital." This attention was flattering; but my father, not pleased with his being put under the orders of a Deputy, desired to follow him to Court. Being in the territory of Djan-Siter, on the day ending the fast of the Ramazan, that General stopped one day to fulfil the rites of that festival, which consists in marching armed in proceesion to some distance in the fields, and in assisting at the Qhootbah(153). for which purpose he ordered a

(153) The Qhootbah is a prayer pronounced standing by the officiant, but with his face turned to the people. It begins by the profession of faith, by a prayer not

number of tents to be pitched at some distance from his camp; after this he marched on, and arrived in the territory of Shah-djehan-abad. There he was met by his own Agent at Court, Radja *Latchimi-naráin, and by Séyd-nessar-mohammed-qhan*, the Shir-djung, a Lord óf the Court, who was son to Syadet-qhan, brother to the late Saadet-qhan, and of course nearly related to Abool-mansoor-qhan. This spot was at three days' *journey from the capital*; and thither he proceeded in all haste. But being arrived on the bank of the Djumnah, he thought it incumbent upon him to make his appearance with some pomp and magnificence. Leaving, therefore, his baggage behind, he marched on in great order, being then within sight of the Citadel. He had with him about ten thousand men of Cavalry, all well mounted, and well armed; the Hindostanies upon horses of value of their own country; the *Moghuls*, of whom his army mostly consisted, upon Persian horses; all stout and vigorous, all armed to advantage, all dressed in scarlet, and cutting an appearance equally pompous and formidable. This body was interspersed with a number of elephants, carrying Ambaris covered with beaten gold. The General was preceded by the elephants richly caparisoned, which carried superb ensigns, and marched slowly, surrounded by his troops. Luckily for him it had rained the whole night, and the morning proved fair and cool, when he made his appearance before the building, called the Octagonal Tower; which being richly gilt, shone in emulation of the then rising sun. The Emperor was there, although not visible. The General, on approaching the tower, alighted from his elephant, and, according to custom, made a profound bow, and stood awhile in a respectful posture. The Monarch answered his bow by sending him one of the roses then before him, with some fruit which was

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to, but for, Mohammed, and his four first successors, and ends by a prayer for the reigning Prince; after which the Priest as well as the whole assembly pronounce the Fateha in a low voice, and the assembly is dismissed.

This Fateha is pronounced by way of apprecation. The officiant has in his hand a staff or a sabre, just as the place in which he *now* officiates, has been taken by capitulation or by storm. It is customary, on the day of the Sacrifice, and whilst he is praying for the reigning Prince, to throw over his shoulders a Qhylaat, or dress of honour, and the same person rolls a rich turbant round his head. This commemoration of the Prince, in the Qhootbah, amounts to an oath, or act of allegiance.

presented by an eunuch of the presence. The Viceroy mounted again and returned to his camp, leaving the Emperor much pleased with the show and the warlike appearance of his troops. All this was yet on the other side of the Djumna. The eleventh of Shevval having been pointed out to the General as the favourable moment, he early crossed the river, on a bridge which the Emperor had ordered to be thrown over for him, and encamped on a spot on the other side, where he had pitched his camp, and where the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan had also ordered a number of tents to be pitched for his own retinue, and a magnificent one for himself; that Minister intending to meet the Viceroy, and to bring him to Court. Sometime after the Vezir made his appearance, and having ordered a number of the Viceroy's people who had filled the tents, to withdraw, and to sit without on their Zin-poshes(154), he filled the largest with his own people, and took his place in it. After tarrying some moments, he came out, with a small number of persons of distinction, and advanced towards a large tent, with a very large enclosure, that embraced a spacious yard. On the Vezir's making his appearance at the gate of the enclosure, the General, who was only attended by a small number of men of distinction, amongst whom was my father, got up from his Mesned, and advanced out to meet him; and the Minister being already in the middle of the yard, they embraced each other, as is the custom in India, and took together their seats on one and the same Mesned. After half an hour's conversation, Paan and several kinds of Aturs(155) were brought in and accepted; and on the Vezir's getting up he was presented with a number of qhoans or trays(156). some covered with curious and costly stuffs, and some with jewels set and unset. After which he departed, and at that very moment he

(154) Zin-posh, (Saddle-cover); it is in general of broad cloth and lined, and so ample as to serve for a carpet to two or three men.

(155) Atur is in general taken for the essential Oil of Roses, extracted from Rose-water, by the heat of the sun. It is a precious drug, very scarce, and it has sold at Calcutta, for a hundred times its weight in silver. There are other Aturs, but not quite so dear.

(156) Those tables are about two or three feet in length, and two in breadth, elegantly painted, gilt, and varnished, and also railed in. They are brought covered with rich brocade, fringed. The master of the ceremonies, or some other person of consequence, draws each table close to the Lord complimented, and uncovering only part of them, gives him a glimpse of the contents, one table after another.

received another present of elephants and horses. And as it had been agreed, that the Minister should precede him to Court, and that the General should follow close, the Vezir was yet within sight, when the General mounted, and, with a deal of pomp and magnificence, he arrived at the gate of the Imperial Palace, where in the evening he had the honour to be presented, and to make his three bows. From thence he repaired to Dara-shecooh's Palace, which had been given by the Emperor to the General's uncle and father-in-law, the famous Saadet-qhan. His army, which was considerable, continued pouring into the city the whole night, and a mighty city it must have been, indeed, where several such Princes, as Abool-mansoor-qhan, Emir-qhan, Zekeriah-qhan, and Nizam-el-mulk, could enter with their numerous armies, and as numerous attendants, without occasioning, in the houses and streets, the least appearance of throng or confusion. The citizens, who had business with those Princes, were obliged to inquire where they had landed; but the common people knew nothing of either their being come in, or of their being gone out.

My forgiven father, also, having hired the seat of Radja Baht-mul, who had been Divan of the Imperial Qhalissah, went into the city. On the eighteenth of the same month, Shah-nevaz-qhan, son to Zekeriah-qhan, but who was commonly known by the name of Mirza-pahlory, under which he had acquired some character for bravery and military abilities, was in the evening admitted to the honour of paying his bows to the Emperor. A month after, but in the same year, Abed-aaly-qhan, second son to Mir-djemlah, was promoted to the office of Supreme Sadr, and honoured with a Qhylaat; and four days after Bend-aaly-qhan, son to Ghaïret-qhan the Husseinian, who bore the same title as his maternal-grandfather, namely that of Shir-ef-ken(157), having been introduced by Emir-qhan, with whom he had come to Court, was graciously received, and presented with a Qhylaat of five pieces. About this time, it being a cool night of the thirteenth Shevval, the nuptials of the Imperial Prince, Ahmed-mirza, with a lady descended from Mehabet-qhan, were celebrated with a deal of magnificence. This same year, 1156, being a Friday, the twenty-fourth of Zilcaadah, a Comet, with a tail half a

(157) Shir-ef-ken signifies the tearer and overthrower of Lion, and also the tearing Lion, and overthrowing Lion,

yard in length, made its appearance, and shone for two-and-twenty days together, beginning with the dusk of the evening, and continuing as late as midnight; it remained motionless betwixt the end of *Pisces* and the beginning of *Aries*. At the end of that time, it seemed to move between the two signs towards the south-west; but then its tail assumed a pike's length, from the fifteenth of the next month of Zilhidja, and the Comet itself became of the bigness and brightness of *Vesper*, always increasing in magnitude and brilliancy, and inclining towards the east, when it disappeared on the last day of that same month. On the fourth of that month Sheh-saad-ollah, Divan of the musters, departed his life, as did, the next day, Mehr-perver, consort to Bahadyr-shah, and grandmother to Mahmed-shah; and they were both, according to their requests, buried close to Choodja-Cootoob-eddin's monument. This same day the Viceroyalty of Gudjrat was conferred on Fahr-ed-dŏwlah, brother to Roshen-ed-dŏwlah.

This was an indifferent choice, but it became necessary; for that Kingdom having, as we have said in the former volumes. been severed from the Imperial jurisdiction, and transferred to the Marhattas, who held it these many years with a strong grasp, no one chose to accept such a charge. But as the new Viceroy bore a character for valour, Mahmed-yar-qhan, whom we have mentioned to have quitted Abool-mansoor-qhan's service, attached himself to him, and engaged him to turn his views towards that dangerous country. The story of that officer is singular enough:—Tired with the laborious life he was obliged to lead in the camp of so active a man as Nadyr-shah, and fearing likewise his animadversion upon some other subjects, he had fled to Hindostan, where he had remained concealed, during that Monarch's sojourn: After his departure, he attached himself to Saadet-qhan, his countryman, who knew him for a man of great courage, and carried him to Feïz-abad, where he soon had an opportunity to signalise his abilities. A report spread at that time at Benares, where that General was with his army, that a great treasure of money was approaching from Bengal under a double escort of Marhattas, commanded by a Marhatta General, and of Hindostanies, commanded by an officer sent by Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, Viceroy of Azim-abad.

This convoy was sent by Aaly-verdy-qhan of Bengal, to Baladji-ráo, the Marhatta Generalissimo, and was then on its way to the Marhatta Camp. It was this treasure which Mahmed-yar-qhan undertook to carry off. Setting out with about two thousand Moghul horse, he made so much haste to overtake it, that on his arrival at Saherseram, he found himself with only seventy horse. With this handful of men he fell upon the enemy, killed some, threw the whole in disorder, and his troops following apace, he had already beaten the enemy before the whole of his force could arrive. He had killed numbers of them, made some prisoners, dispersed the rest, and seized the treasure, with which he returned to Benares(158). A service of that importance, instead of promoting his interest, ruined him in Saadet-qhan's mind. The Viceroy took umbrage at so much daringness, and a coolness took place between them; and the Officer, having parted from him in disgust, had now taken service with Fahr-ed-dŏwlah. The man, full of resentment, expected to be able to debauch the Moghul troops in Abool-mansoor-qhan's service, and to bring into his possession, by some means or other, his artillery also; after which, he doubted not, but under Fahr-ed-dŏwlah's name, he would drive the Marhattas from Gudjrat. Full of this scheme, he fell to work, and intrigued with the Moghuls. But those people, who had fled from the laborious life they had led in Nadyr-shah's camp, and now enjoyed some rest in Abool-masoor-qhan's service, did not choose to listen to a man whom they knew to be of a choleric restless temper, that would engage in endless expeditions, and allow them not a moment of rest; and they refused his offers flatly, and none stayed with him but some hundreds of men who had been his companions, and who having personal obligations to him, went over to his camp; and it was

(158) Mahmed-yar-qhan being sent for on the first intelligence of the treasure being on the road, that officer without waiting for the Viceroy's speaking, broke out: *I will do it—I am precisely*, said he, *the man you want for such an enterprise.* For what enterprise? replied the Viceroy. *For falling, like lightning, upon those Corores that are marching at our elbows. Will you suffer those infidels to march off with so much money? Since you have guessed*, said the Viceroy, *for what I had sent for you, depart immediately, and set out to-morrow. To-night*, replied the man, *and if I come at all, it will be with the money.* The Marhatta Escort of four thousand men was already defeated and flying, before he had been joined by one-third of his two thousand Moghuls, and he attacked it with only seventy men. It is remarkable, that he measured eighty or ninety Cosses of ground from Feiz-abad to Saherseram, in thirty or forty hours' time.

with these few men he undertook to carry Fahr-ed-dŏwlah to Gudjrat. He departed accordingly; but his numbers were so small, that all his efforts proved abortive; nor did he gain Fahr-ed-dŏwlah's heart, who was a man of courage, but of little understanding. The man, not pleased, retired to live in a corner, but being sick of a still life that did not agree with his temper, he returned to Nadyr-shah's camp; and although he had every thing to fear from that Monarch's resentment, he presented himself before him with an undaunted countenance. That Prince, on casting his eyes upon him, recollected him at once, and said, "Since you fled from my resentment, why have you come back?" —"Because," answered the man, "rather than to live amongst "cowards, it is better to be killed by a brave man, like you; "and now I bring you my head." Nadyr-shah, pleased with his answer, gave him his pardon, and sent him upon a command in Pars(159), or in Herat. After Mahmed-yar-qhan's departure, Fahr-ed-dŏwlah was beaten by the Marhattas, and became their prisoner; nor was it until after a deal of trouble and many sufferings, that he found his way again to Shah-djehan-abad, where he retired to his house.

At the end of this year, on the seventh of Zilhidja, there fell such violent rains, and these were mixed with so much hail, and so much lightning and thunder, that people were confounded and amazed. The lightning fell in the Citadel, did a deal of damage in the public Audience Hall, killed two horses and two men, and stunned several others. On the 25th of the same month the Emperor was pleased to honour Sheh-saad-ollah's son with a Qhylaat of mourning; and as by that death the office of Divan of the musters became vacant, the Monarch bestowed it on Abdol medjid-qhan, the Cashmirian, who on that very day took possession of his office, by sitting in the cacherry or tribunal, and signing some papers. This year, being the one thousand one hundred and fifty seventh of the Hedjrah, the Nŏu-rooz, or New-Year's Day fell on the sixth of Sefer(160). This year also Nizam-el-mulk having besieged the Fortress of Paleconda, in the territory

(159) Pars is the Persis of the Greeks. It is one of the six grand divisions into which the Persians or Iranians parcel out their country.

(160) The Solar year, amongst the Mussulmen, begins on the 22nd or third of March; but the beginning of their Lunar year wanders throughout all the seasons.

of Háiderabad, recovered that stronghold from the hands of Mucarbe-qhan, the Decanian. A great change happened this same year at Court. As the Emperor was dissatisfied with the Tooranian Lords, at the head of whom were the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, and Nizam-el-mulk; and Saad-eddin-qhan, as well as his son, Hafiz-eddin-qhan, were known to be attached to them, the latter was dismissed from the command of the Imperial Artillery, an office of the utmost importance, and which gives a disposal of the Emperor's person and family; and at the same time the office of Mirateshy, or Grandmaster of the household, was, on Emir-qhan's recommendation, bestowed on Abool-mansoor-qhan; the Emperor at the same time passing a compliment upon the many services he had rendered the State, and expressing his hopes of his continuing to be equally vigilant and faithful. On this promotion Abool-mansoor-qhan ordered the insignia of his office, such as the axes and other articles, to be brought into his presence; and having issued some orders relative to his charge, he took from that day his residence in the Citadel. The next day he obtained, for my forgiven father, the Fodjdary of Sekendera, at a small distance from the Capital, and he introduced him to the Emperor. On my father's paying his obeisance, he was honoured with a Qhylaat which he put on immediately; and it was at the same time that myself, the poor man, was, with my younger brother, Naky-aaly-qhan, honoured with Military grades and the title of Qhan. We both remained some months at Court, in our father's service, after which we applied to Abool-mansoor-qhan for leave to return to Azim-abad, a city where our family was established these many years, and where I had my glorious mother, my aunt, my uncle, and my brothers; a city where we had contracted connections and friendship, both with Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, Viceroy of the province, and with his uncle, Aaly-verdy-qhan. That General not only obtained our demand, but he dismissed us with every mark of honour and kindness, decorating both brothers with a Qhylaat and a Serpitch, and sending by our means his prayers to the Nazem of Azim-abad(161), and some curious presents to

(161) The Nazem of Azim-abad, although himself a Governor of an important province, being so very inferior to Abool-mansoor-qhan, the latter sent him only his *Dua*, or prayers, it is the usual expression. *Selam* is above it, as it signifies both *greeting*, and a *bow*. *Bendeghi* signifies attachment and respect, and is the highest expression.

the Viceroy of Bengal. We arrived at Azim-abad, the first of Zilcaadah of that same year, with all our retinue without meeting any accident by the way. At the end of this same year Aya-mull, Prime Minister of the late Maharadja(162) Asiri-sing-sevăi, having had the honour to be presented to the Emperor, received a Qhylaat of five pieces; and on the fifteenth of the same month of the second Djemady, the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, who had been out of the city, and had got into a tent for the purpose of condoling with that Prince on his father the late Maharadja's death, and also for bringing him with more honour to Court, paid him a short visit; and on the evening of that same day, he received a respectful one from the Gentoo Prince. In the month of Redjeb, of that same year, Homăi8n-baqht, brother to the late Emperor Feroh-syur, and son to Azim ush-shan, departed his life, and he was buried close to Qhoodjah-Cootoob-eddin's monument. On the twenty-seventh of Shaaban the Fodjdary of G8aliar was taken from Qhyzyr-qhan, and bestowed on Emir-qhan; as was the Government of Cashmir, on Abool-mansoor-qhan, after it was taken from Assed-yar-qhan, a simple man, on whom it had been bestowed by Emir-qhan's recommendation. This Governor now lost his appointment on some bad offices which were rendered him by the same Emir-qhan, and he was denied access to the Emperor's presence. At the same time both Emir-qhan and Abool-mansoor-qhan were honoured by the Emperor with each a rich belt. The latter, who was attached by his office to the Emperor's person, sent Nessar-mahmed-qhan, a relation of his, to take possession of that Government; and he gave him a strong body of both Hindostany and Moghul troops, with instructions to bring the refractory people of that country under some order. This nobleman being arrived in his Government, found means, by dint of promises and by a faint agreement, to engage one Baber-ollah, a man of consequence in that country, but equally powerful and refractory, to come to see him; but as soon as he had him in his power, he got him seized and confined. The new Governor after this manœuvre, spent

(162) This word of Maharadja, which signifies great King in the ancient Hindoo language, signifies now only a great Prince; and it is a title of honour which the Emperor used to bestow as a favour on the principal Hindoos of his Empire, but which is bestowed now even by his Viceroys.

some time in enjoying the pleasures afforded by that terrestria Paradise, and then returned to Shah-djehan-abad, after having placed, as Deputy-Governor, a relation of Abool-mansoor-qhan's, called Efrasiab-qhan. On the seventeenth of the Ramazan of that same year, Azim-ollah-qhan, who had been this longwhile kept confined in the Citadel of Shah-djehan-abad, was released from his confinement by death; and he went to join his relations and those that resembled him in character; the next morning, his body having been brought to his house in the city, where the Vezir Cammer-eddin-qhan, who was his near relation, had repaired, according to custom; the throng that accompanied that Minister proved so very great, that the floor of the house, which happened to have a Tah-qhana(163), and possibly was that moment under some secret influence, gave way, and the body, the Vezir, and all his people fell into the apartment underneath, but, however without receiving any great hurt. The Vezir having escaped that danger, ordered the body to be buried close to the monument of Shah-nizam-eddin. At the end of this same year, about the last day of Zilcaadah, there happened to be an unauspicious conjunction in the sign of *Libra*. It made its appearance again in the month of Sefer of the year 1158, and having appeared for the third time in *Virgo*, about the end of the second of Reby, it disappeared entirely. The last month of this same year, Sooltan Eaz-eddin, son to Muëzz-eddin-Djehandar-shah, departed his life.

Origin and history of Rohillah, the founder of a colony of Afghans.

After having detained the reader's attention with these unimportant events, it is time to introduce to his knowledge a man who has founded a Sovereignty very near the Capital of the Empire. This man is Aaly-mahmed-qhan-Rohillah. We have already mentioned several times in the former volumes the name

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(163) Tah-qhana signifies *house of heat*. It is a subterraneous apartment always under the ground-floor, and so contrived as to admit little light, and of course little heat. People resort to those places from noon, as far as the evening in the months of March, April, and May, at which time there blows a wind that seems to come out of an oven. Some people have jets d'Eaux in those apartments, but all are besprinkled with water. There are no Tah-qhanas in Bengal, (excepted at Patna), the country being too humid and too much infested with snakes. The Author's superstition makes him mention the words of secret influence, as if the deceased had become the object of the Divine malediction, for having by the Vezir's attacked and slain Seif-qhan, a Séyd.

of that extraordinary man, especially as having been so instrumental in Séif-qhan's ruin and death. This man, originally a son of a Gentoo Ahir(164), and adopted by an Afghan of no higher pedigree than himself, had a fund of bravery and capacity, which rendered him worthy of command. He availed himself of the neglect and supineness so conspicuous in the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan's character, to carry his point, and to establish his power firmly in his new dominions on the other side of the Ganga, which he peopled with a multitude of Afghans that flocked to him from all parts, and henceforward took his name. The means by which he raised himself to the pinnacle of fortune, are so extraordinary and so sudden, that it becomes necessary to give here a succinct account of them. He was at first a Commander of a small body of Afghan Cavalry, with which, having taken service with the two Governors of the province of Moorad-abad, he behaved on all occasions so well, and rendered so many services, that he became a favourite with them both, and acquired a character highly esteemed all over the country. This country, which was the Djaghir of the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, had been for a length of time governed by two Noblemen much in favour with that Minister, namely, Osmet-ollah-qhan, and Ferid-eddin-qhan, who took a particular liking to Aaly-mahmed-Rohillah. The latter had already acquired a high character for prowess and military conduct, by assisting so timely Azim-ollah-qhan, in his engagement against Séif-qhan; and as Azim-ollah-qhan was so nearly related to the Vezir that officer, by his means, became known to that Minister, who got him decorated with a title, and with a military grade. He procured him likewise the grant of some lands from the Emperor, and gave him from himself the command over some Districts of his Djaghir of Moorad-abad. The man no sooner saw himself in some force and power, than availing himself of the Vezir's inattention, and of the effeminacy of the neighbouring Djaghir-holders, he found

(164) The Ahirs of Hindostan, called Goalas in Bengal, are a particular class that abstains from animal food, and have for occupation every thing that may be done in a dairy, cheese excepted They are also shepherds, but only of cows, bulls, and buffaloes, but never of sheep, goats, or any other animal whatever. Nevertheless they neither make nor eat any cheese; and by a Bizarery hardly to be believed, those men which put salt into milk curds, turned sour, hold it a sin to put any into sweet milk.

means to seize their lands, by way of taking a lease of them; and meanwhile Death having snatched Osmet-ollah-qhan and Ferid-eddin qhan, those two brave Governors, who had done so much honour to their age, Aaly-mahmed-qhan, who now passed for an Afghan to all intents and purposes, availed himself of that opportunity to engage in his service a number of Afghan Officers and Commanders, who resolved to share his good fortune. Those men whom the severities of Nadir-shah had driven from their homes, and who were floating at random upon the Ocean of incertitude and despair, were glad to hear of a place of refuge and shelter, and they resorted in shoals to a man who had already acquired so much renown under the name of Rohillah, which was that of one of their clans. The man no sooner saw himself so strongly supported, than he cast a piercing eye upon the state of things in Hindostan. The weakness of the Empire, the effeminacy of its Generals and Grandees, who all aspired to independence, and the inattention of the first Minister, who, wholly engrossed by his pleasures as well as by Court intrigues, spent his time in intemperance and in the company of the handsomest youths he could procure from all parts of the Empire—all these vices of administraton—could not escape the sight of so keen a man. He availed himself of so many favourable circumstances to build his own grandeur; and after having remained a long time crouching, he raised his head at once, and setting up for himself, he became refractory, and neglected sending the usual remittances to the Treasury. The Vezir, roused from his lethargy by so bold a step, sent for Radja Harnund, a Rŏudja by clan, and having furnished him from his own stores with a sum of money, a train of artillery, and a quantity of rockets, he gave him the Government of Moorad-abad, and the neighbouring countries, with orders to raise as many troops as he might think necessary, for subduing Rohillan, and with him all the refractory Zemindars of those parts. The Radja, having raised an army, marched with his troops and artillery to Moorad-abad; and, proud of his power and forces, he commenced issuing orders, and exacting submission. Rohillah, like a shrewd Politician, kept an attentive eye upon him, and meanwhile he was sending respectful messages, by which he excused the imprudence of his conduct, and requested for the future some abatement in the high rents which had been

heretofore expected from him. The Radja, *elated with his dignity and the Vezir's support, would not hear of any abatement*; he required an unconditional submission, and *was intent only on* picking up some quarrel with him, and tearing him by the roots. The man, seeing himself thus pressed hard, turned his eyes towards his Afghans, and having assembled the principal men amongst them, he made an exposition of the state of things, and asked them, what was their opinion, and what they intended to do. The Afghans, a race naturally brave and determined, who breathed nothing but conquests and new establishments, seeing the Radja bent on their destruction, advised Rohillah to stand upon his defence, and requested him to reckon upon their hearty assistance, and support. The man, satisfied to see them so resolute and unanimous, assembled them secretly in several bodies, and on an appointed day, he joined them himself, and effected a general junction; after which he marched against Harnund. The latter sensible now, that matters had grown serious, was already in readiness, and he advanced with intention to fight: nor were the two armies at a great distance, when the Hindoos, who not only are careful observers of the meteors and phenomena of the air, as well as of the motions of celestial bodies, but who trust so far to the conclusions they draw from them, as to think that they concern their happiness in this world as well as in the other; the Brahmans, I say, who abounded in the Radja's army, where they bore a sway, opposed themselves to his moving farther, and requested his waiting for the favourable moment. This request engaged him to raise an intrenchment round his encampment, which he lined with his artillery, in expectation that with soothing messages, and protracted negotiations, he would keep the Afghans at bay, until the favourable day should come. Rohilla fully informed of all this, as the two armies were so near, suffered himself to be apparently amused, and having spread a report that in the evening he would pay his respects to the Radja, he fell that very night upon his camp, and threw every thing in confusion. It is observable, that intelligence being brought the Radja that the Afghans were approaching in an hostile manner, the man who was then consulting his idols, answered, that this was not a fighting day for them, and went on with his devotions. Meanwhile the Afghans entered the intrenchment, and commenced killing and sacking and plundering

Rohillah revolts.

every thing in their way. In this confusion Motiram, a Hindoo Commander, mounted his horse with a few of his men, and opposed the enemy; but he was cut down with his followers, and he hastened with them into the regions of eternity. Harnund, all this while, was still in his oratory, and occupied at his devotions with which he went on; and without attempting to get up, or to interrupt his prayers, he suffered himself to be cut down by the astonished Afghans. Rohillah, having in this manner dispersed all that multitude in a little time, found his power established by a victory equally great and easy, and his force recruited by the addition of a treasure in money, and a great train of Artillery. But the Minister was not roused by such an important stroke. Like a man lost to all sense of honour, he was not ashamed to commence a negotiation with the rebels, and he chose for that purpose his favourite wife, Sholah-poori(165), and his youngest son, Muaien-ed-döwlah, better known under the name of Mir-mannoo. Aaly-mahmed-qhan, hearing of her errand, and knowing that she was already crossing the Ganga in her boat, got himfelf into some boats that were at hand, and with a few friends only he crossed over, and paid the Begum and her son his respects and duty. After the first compliments, the dispute about rents and tribute was between them dispatched in a few moments. It is even said, that they concluded a match between the young Lord, and Rohillah's daughter, but we have never heard since that day, that the ceremony of marriage had been performed between the young people. Be it as it will, from that period Aaly-mahmed-qhan rose to figure amongst the Princes of Hindostan, and having in a little time assembled an army of forty thousand, determined Afghans, he stretched his dominion from near to near, and established his authority in Moorad-abad, Berheily, Anoulah, Bedäon,, Bun-gar, Sambal,.and Amröah, as well as in some other places. Henceforward he became so proud, as to make no accunt of the Court, and matters remained in that state until the time when Abool-mansoor-qhan, becoming Grandmaster of the Emperor's household, incensed that Monarch against the insolence of Rohillah, and engaged him to exert the Imperial power in chastising and crushing the Afghans.

Surprises Harnund in his camp.

Rohillah becomes an independent Prince.

(165) The title of Poori, attached to her name, renders it evident that she must have been originally a dance-woman, and an actress.

The Emperor, sensible of the goodness of the advice, and that it arose from zeal for his honor, resolved to march against the rebels; and on the twenty-fourth of Moharrem, he at day-break displayed the standard of departure, and went in the suburbs to the seat of Lö8ni, as if to change his ground. After a stay of twenty days he proceeded farther, and crossed the river Henidun, from whence he encamped at Dasna. From thence he dispatched Saadat-qhan, maternal-uncle to the Empress Maleka-zemani, with a commission that gave him the Viceroyalty of the province of Delhi, as well as the command of both the capital and its citadel. The Emperor at the same time made him a present of a sabre, and invested him in that new charge, by dressing him in a suit of new clothes, which had just served his Imperial person(166). The Qhan, having taken his leave, entered the city on the 23rd of Sefer, and the next day he took possession of the citadel, whilst the Emperor, who continued his march, arrived at Sumbul on the first of the Reby; and on the twentieth he encamped at Bedäon. This march struck Aaly-mahmed-qhan with dismay, who not thinking himself a match for an Imperial army, quitted the field, and took shelter in the fortress of Bun-gur, which was immediately besieged; and whilst the troops waited only for the order to mount the breach, this Imperial army was reinforced by a body of troops, brought by Káim-qhan, son and successor to Mahmed-qhan-Bangash, who having set out from Feroh-abad, his capital, was arrived in the Imperial camp, where he had the honor to pay his obeisance by the Vezir's mediation. About the same time Nevol-ray, Deputy to Abool-mansoor-qhan in Aood, set out likewise for camp by his master's order, with a body of veterans and a train of artillery. As this body of troops was yet on its march on the other side of Bun-gur, which fortress remained betwixt them and the Imperial camp, it was feared lest the Afghan should avail himself of that opportunity to fall suddenly upon the reinforcement, and thereby give a mortal blow to Abool-mansoor-qhan, whom he considered as his personal enemy. And as on the other hand, there subsisted a misunderstanding between Rohillah on one side, and the Vezir on the other, which

The Emperor marches against him

(166) This is a very uncommon honor. Its importance may be guessed from this, that when two persons intend to be henceforward sworn brothers to each other, they actually exchange the turbants upon their heads.

latter had taken umbrage at Abool-mansoor-qhan's power, a would have been glad to see him undergo both a loss and an affro the Viceroy to parry such a disgrace, took the Emperor's leav and having put himself at the head of his own troops, he march out to meet his Deputy, who was now drawing near. The juncti being effected, that General returned with a deal of honor, a having marched throughout the whole length of the Vezi encampment, he returned to his own former post. The next da he presented Nevol-ráy to the Emperor, and for his own hon engaged that Monarch to make him several presents. The Vez meanwhile shocked at these distinctions, and intent on lessenin the influence of both Emir-qhan and of the Viceroy, was underhan encouraging Rohillah, to stand his ground, although he ought t have remembered that he was the very man from whom he ha received so many affronts. This connection of interests coul not long remain concealed from the two Lords, who finding th the Vezir intent on assuming the honor of an accommodation, lef the negotiation entirely to him. And thus, on the third of the first Djemady, of the year 1158, the Vezir, who had undertaken to make Rohillah's peace, bound both his hands with a handkerchief, and in that condition brought him to the Emperor. The Monarch on casting his eyes upon him, ordered his hands to be set at liberty, and turning to the Vezir, he said, "*We recommend this man to your guard.*" People were dispatched at the same time to take possession of the effects in the fortress, where they found a great quantity of grain and some small cannon, but no ready money, and nothing precious. Only a small sum, which Rohillah had deposited in the hands of Káim-qhan, was declared by the latter, and sent to the Treasury. This affair being brought to an end, the Emperor's Pish-qhana was, on the fourth of that month, sent towards Shah-djehan-abad; and himself, after dismissing Káim-qhan and Nevol-ráy to their respective offices, returned victorious and satisfied. It was on the first of Djemady in the same year, at which time, the sun being then at the end of the sign of *Leo*, the Emperor made his entry in the citadal of his Capital, and took his seat in the Imperial Palace.

Rohillah besieged, surrenders.

The Emperor returns.

At the end of Moharrem Nevazish-aaly-qhan departed his life and was entombed in the monument of the

Hylostep(167). A month after Eshrefi-qhan, eldest son of the late Qhandôuran, Lord of Lords, departed his life likewise, and was buried in his father's mausoleum. On the seventeenth of Sefer, the New Year's Day was celebrated with the usual solemnities, and about the middle of the first Reby, Assed-yär-qhan, the famous Poet, who bore the title of Assed-ed-dôwlah, departed this life, and his body was carried to Acbar-abad, the place of his nativity and residence, as well as that of his ancestors. He was a man equally sensible and good-natured, of an equal temper, acquainted with the sciences, and inclined to utter extempore verses. He had been presented by Emir-qhan to the Emperor in one and the same day with Djaafer-aaly-qhan, (another famous Nobleman of similar temper and talents, and a great friend of my father's) and with Issac-qhan, (since Mutemen-ed-döwlah), as well as a fourth person whose name I do not recollect at present. The two former were that same day promoted to the grade of five thousand horse, and the two latter, to that of four thousand. Djaafer-aaly-qhan, having personally attached himself to Emir-qhan, did not rise higher; but Issac-qhan's fortune was so rapid, that he rose to the third Heaven, and no favour ever equalled that which he enjoyed, as we have already mentioned. Assed-yär-qhan rose very high likewise. He was honoured with the title of Assed-ed-döwlah, and the grade of six thousand

Death and some account of the famous Lord and poet, Assed-yär-qhan.

(167) There are in India numbers of monuments dedicated to the Holy-step, they being raised by pious persons at the very spot where they have seen the Prophet in their sleep, and where he has been pleased to leave an impression of his foot. As man is naturally an imitator, where he is not persecuted, we have seen whole sets of Gentoo Dance-women, who having found relief on invoking the Holy-step, went in procession to that monument, and danced for a whole day before it; nor will those women, though free to all at other times, suffer themselves to be touched by prophanes on such days, or even to be gazed at; they disappear immediately to come again when the crowd is past. However, there are other Cadem-Ressools, who have a different origin, namely, an imitation in marble or other materials of the impreession which the Prophet left of his foot in a very hard stone, now in the temple of Medina; which impression might have been really left of that Holy-foot upon some soft clay, as he was standing upon it when intent upon some building of his at Medina. It is true it has not one of the spiral lineaments which the soft clay must have received in that case; but it is no less true that the Pilgrims by endless kissing it, and passing the palms of their hands upon it, and then upon their facesfor a course of time no less than twelve centuries, may have effaced the delineaments, and a great deal more; just as they have by the same practice bored a hole at the top of the Granite Cavern of Herra, of three inches deep.

horse, and he enjoyed the command of five thousand effective troopers in his Brigade; moreover he was decorated with the insignia of the Mahi, or fish. Emir-qhan, who had taken umbrage at his behaviour on account of his not having attached himself personally to him, as Djaafer-aaly-qhan, and many others had done, was bent on ruining his credit; and finding at his return from Ilah-abad, that he had recovered his former ascendant over the Emperor's mind, he rendered him so many ill offices, that his Brigade of five thousand effective horse was disbanded; an action that reflected a great odium upon Emir-qhan's person. It is reported of Assed-yār-qhan, that he kept no less than one hundred and forty chopdars, or mace-bearers, divided in two companies, under two distinct officers, that did duty alternately at his gate, for the sole purpose of keeping it free from the noise and tumult so customary at the gates of men of distinction, and of men of no distinction? which however they could not compass; and he used to say that it was with a a view to afford a livelihood to these people, and to avoid the imputation of sordidness. He was so good-natured that on being visited by people of rank, greatly inferior to his own, he used to receive and treat them as his friends and equals. May God assign him a place in the mansions of His mercy! A few days after his death, intelligence came that Zekeriah-qhan, Viceroy of Lahor and Mooltan, had departed this borrowed world, and had taken his journey towards eternity; a piece of intelligence which the Vezir, who was brother to the deceased's consort, kept secret, until he could dispatch Yahia-qhan, the deceased's eldest son, who was also his son-in-law, to put in order his father's household and effects at Lahor, and also to sit in his stead. That Minister on hearing that he was arrived, published Zekeriah-qhan's death, and took mourning for him. The customary days of that rite being over, he went to Court, and on that very day obtained a Qhylaat of departure for Gholam-mahi-eddin-qhan, whom he invested with the commission of going to Lahor, and taking possession for the Imperial Treasury of all the deceased's effects. A few days after the Vezir himself, being installed in the charge of Viceroy of Lahor and Mooltan, appointed Zekeriah-qhan's two sons, to act in those two offices as his Deputies: but the two brothers disagreeing together, and

their disagreement ending in an open rupture Shah-nevaz-qhan, the youngest brother, seized and confined Yahia-qhan, his elder. However, the latter, having found means by his mother's contrivance to get himself conveyed in a Qhoan(168), out of the house, quite through his guards, reached the City-gate, where mounting an excellent horse, kept ready for him, he set out on a gallop, and was soon out of sight and out of his brother's reach. In a short time he arrived at Shah-djehan-abad, where he had the meanness to put on brick-coloured clothes, to cover his head with ashes, and, in a word, to turn Fakir. He built himself a tenement upon the canal, which he called Pim-bari, and as he was a Vezir's son-in-law, and was worth a great deal of money, he soon found followers and disciples, who imitated his garb, and lived in the same manner with him. After his departure, the younger brother remained in full possession of those two Governments. Sometime after, that is, on the sixteenth of Shaaban, Ased-ollah-qhan, elder brother to Emir-qhan, winged his flight towards the mansions of the Divine mercy; and on the ninth of Shevval, a son was born to Ahmed Mirza, the presumptive heir of the Empire.

Infamous custom of the Emperors of Hindostan.

The No8-r8z fell this year on the twenty-seventh of Sefer. A few days after arrived at Court, Ghoolam-mahi-eddin-qhan, who had been dispatched to confiscate the estate of the late Zekeriah-qhan, in compliance with an infamous custom which has taken place in the Babrian branch of the family of Temoor(169). The deceased Viceroy's son put in his hands some of the most apparent effects, with a sum of money, as the whole of the estate; nor was anything more brought to the presence. Nevertheless

(168) Qhoans are tables of three feet in length, and two in breadth, railed in and covered with a Cupola of lattice-work, over which they throw a piece of broad cloth that shelters the whole. It is in these Qhoans that victuals are carried from the kitchen to the table, and also abroad, it being customary in Hindostan to send dressed victuals to friends and acquaintances. It is also in such machines that young imprudent men find means to get themselves conveyed into Seraglios, where they are immediately taken possession of by a number of young women, who have clubbed together for such operations, and who, after having thoroughly squeezed the orange in a few days, are for their own sakes obliged to throw the rind into a well; or it is thrown by the master of the house himself, who chooses that expedient to save his honor, whenever he comes to discover what has passed.

(169) Temoor, or more properly Timur, pronounced Tamer-lang or Tamerlan, in Europe, had several sons. His posterity, in the person of Soltan Babr, returned to Hindostan and firmly settled itself there.

the Commissary was rewarded for this expedition with a fringed paleky, and an augmentation of a thousand horses to his grade. A strange affair happened about this time.

Behroz-qhan, one of the eunuchs of the presence, after performing his Friday devotions in the mosque, repaired to the house of a slave of his, who had been many days dead, with intention to carry away the deceased's wife, in order to make a present of her person to his own saint and director, who had chanced to see her and to fall in love with her charms. The widow refused, and declared that she had no inclination to marry a second time. This declaration having produced many intreaties and much altercation, the pimping eunuch, who was resolved to gratify that infamous director of his at any rate, attempted to carry the woman away by force. At this moment her father made his appearance, and interposed, by intreaties and persuasions; but the eunuch, proud of his station, and presuming on his power and influence, commenced talking so high, that the father, unable to bear his insolence and ill language, and thinking likewise that his honour was concerned in protecting his daughter from so vile an attempt, struck the invader with his poniard, and laid him sprawling on the ground. He struck likewise the eunuch's adopted son, who had followed his father within the inner apartments; but he was himself instantly dispatched by the attendants of that infamous wretch. The eunuch, being stretched at full length in his paleky, was carried to his lodgings, where in a little time he expired. He was buried in the dormitory of Qhoadja Cootoob-eddin.

"I should be glad to know whither those travellers intend to go,
"Who have for a guide a man, that has himself lost his way, and is going astray."

This strange accident was followed by one full as strange. Hafyz-vadjich-qhan, an eunuch, Superintendent of the Imperial Kitchen, being at his prayers at day-break, fell suddenly into a swoon, and expired within an hour. It was on the second of Djemady. His office was given to his adopted son. At the end of the month, the Emperor, having set out to take an airing in the seats about the Capital, was pleased to entrust Mahmed-issack-qhan with the guard of the Imperial person, an office become vacant by Behroz-qhan's death; and that nobleman after making his bow in acknowledgment of the favour, was installed

in his office by being presented with a belt. After which the Emperor, on the fifth of Redjeb, returned to his blessed mansion, where an important event soon came to take place.

We have already mentioned, more than once, the high degree of favour and authority to which Umdet-ul-mulk-Emir-qhan had risen by degrees. He had indeed such talents for business, and such fitness for command, that he was reputed superior in those respects to all the Lords of the Court, as well as to all his cotemporaries. On his own part, he had so high an opinion of his influence, that he made but little account of all the other Ministers. It happened just at this time that the Vezir being in liquor, and taking the fresh air upon the top of his Palace, staggered and fell down upon the ground, where he broke some of his bones, and otherwise received so much hurt, that he kept his bed for eight months together; and although he recovered his health, he continued to be so much bruised and hurt, that he seldom came to Court, being unable to stand before the Emperor. And, on the other hand, as he had but a slender opinion of the capacity of his sons, and did not think any of them worthy of being entrusted with the management of affairs, he requested Emir-qhan to transact business in his stead with the Emperor, and then retired to his house to enjoy some rest; for he came to Court very seldom, and sometimes but once a month, at which time, after having stood a few moments in the Imperial presence, he was always dismissed, or took his leave of himself. As to Abool-mansoor-qhan, he was personally attached to Emir-qhan, to whom he thought himself indebted for his fortune; and thus this Nobleman's influence and authority, having no one to contend with, became boundless and infinite. But he was naturally gay and lively; and being accustomed for some time to talk familiarly to the Emperor he began to lay aside that tone of deference and air of respect, which ought never to be departed from in the presence of Kings and Sovereigns. For now being sole master of the Court, with not one rival to envy, and not one competitor to contend with, he forgot himself so far, as to take unusual liberties with the Emperor, thinking that his advice ought always to preponderate, and that his requests ought always to be complied with. But the Emperor had another favourite, Mahmed-issac-qhan, whom he raised so high,

Rise and disgrace of Emir-qhan.

together with his brother, that they seemed so many Princes; although Emir-qhan would make no account of them, as it was to him that their father owed their elevation. The Emperor, sensible of this, was desirous of strengthening Issac-qhan's interest; and it was with that view he concluded a match between Sudjah-ed-dŏwlah-Djelaleddin-haïder-qhan, son to Abool-mansoor-qhan, on one side, and Issac-qhan's sister on the other; and to engage Emir-qhan's good will to the match, he declared himself the author of it, and appointed that Nobleman to act as his Deputy, and as Agent from the Lady, in making the necessary preparatives for the nuptials. Abool-mansoor-qhan, extremely pleased with the match, and desirous likewise of complimenting the Imperial pleasure, exerted himself in rendering the nuptials as pompous and as magnificent as possible. Amongst other articles which he sent, as usual, to the bride, as part of her future necessaries, people took notice of no less than a thousand and some hundreds of Vessels,(170) for water, all of silver, not one of which could weigh less than a Hundred Rupees. After the celebration of the nuptials, Emir-qhan thought proper to take his leave, and to repair to the Castle of Selim-gur, where the Princes of the Royal blood lived confined. To these he paid a visit; and by such a conduct he rendered himself suspected, and became obnoxious to many, especially to his jealous enemies. The Emperor himself conceived a disgust at such a step. His heart insensibly altered, and he came at last to hate the man whom he had once loved so much; but thinking it improper to shew his resentment, he went on with dissembling and with disguising his sentiments, until a crisis was occasioned by Emir-qhan himself. One day, as he was actually speaking to the Emperor of some matters of State, he brought forward some representations likely to take up much time. The Emperor, tired, told him these words: "*Umdet-ul-mulk-bahudyr*(171), *leave that for some other day.*" Emir-qhan answered, that "*he had no*

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(170) These Vessels being mostly for female ablutions and bathings must have contained, most of them, several gallons of water, and weighed a Thousand Rupees each at least.

(171) This expression would answer to the English expression, My Lord Duke, as it is not customary amongst the Princes of Hindostan to design their servants and Grandees by any other appellation, than that of their title.

"more than a few words to say, and requested to be heard, as "the subject was urging." The Emperor repeated what he had said. The Minister insisted, and both the request and excuse were repeated three several times, and three times did Emir-qhan repeat his importunity, and be guilty of the same fault.—Unfortunately for him, there happened to be present an eunuch of the presence, whose character was as impatient and peevish, and as unaccountable and perverse, as any of that choleric tribe; and as he was an old slave of the Emperor's father and grand-father, and had now, as Superintendent of Imperial Seraglio, the disposal of several gates of the Palace, (an office of high trust), he was much in favour with that Monarch. Rooz-afzoon-qhan, (for such was his name) impatient to see the Minister's importunity, chanced to say, (but not so low, however, as not to be overheard by Emir-qhan) *"I suppose this to be such a high flavored "story as admits of no delay, and must at any rate be repeated "to-night to all the old women of the neighbourhood."* The Minister, shocked, could not help saying, *"that it little became "slaves to take such liberties, whilst Grandees of the Empire, "and Ministers of State, were talking of matters of importance "to their masters."* The eunuch, without being discomposed by this reprimand, sharply replied, *"that if they were slaves, "they were so to none but the Emperor, and by no means to "any others."* On this, Emir-qhan, addressing the Emperor, said, *"if this man continues in the superintendence of the "Palace, your slave cannot come to Court any more."* The Emperor, after having said some obliging things to the Minister, to appease his rising resentments, added: *"Do not be uneasy, "Umdet-ul-mulk-bahadyr; your interest is greater than his; "and it shall be done as you wish."* The Minister, after a pause, replied, *"if your Majesty really wishes to oblige the "slave of your Imperial Throne, let the superintendence be "bestowed upon me; and I shall appoint a proper person to "execute that office, on my part."* The Emperor agreed. The Minister getting up immediately to acknowledge the favour, made a profound bow, and departed. Being arrived at his home, he sent for Agah-qhan, an old eunuch of his own, who was Superintendent of his Hall of Audience, and he promised to promote him to-morrow morning, to a high office in the Imperial

Palace. But matters, meanwhile, were taking a different turn in the Palace. On the Minister's departure, the Emperor complained of his importunity, and added, "*that he had been this* "*longwhile tired of Emir-qhan, and found it difficult to live* "*with him; but now that he wants to get the disposal of most* "*of the gates of the Palace,*" *added he,* "*I suppose I shall be no* "*better than his prisoner.*" The eunuch answered, that if such was His Majesty's pleasure, it was an easy matter to provide for it. "*Do then,*" replied the Emperor, "*and make haste, for once* "*he shall have taken possession of the superintendence, it will* "*be then too late.*" The eunuch, having got his cue, went out ruminating how he could find a man that would dispatch the Minister. He spoke of it to one of his confidents, who answered that he knew a very fit man for the business, and that it was his own brother, who had been lately in Emir-qhan's service, and having parted with him on the very worse terms, had said more than once in the agonies of his resentment, that he would some day or other take his life. The desperado being asked whether he would undertake to perform the work, answered in the affirmative, and was carried by his brother to the eunuch, who, on putting the question to him, was earnestly requested not to provide any other man for such a business, as he was determined to be revenged of the Minister. The eunuch seeing him resolute and eager got him inlisted amongst the guards, and placed him in the inner apartments, where he informed him that, as soon as Emir-qhan should get beyond the door of the private hall of audience, he must fall upon him directly. The wretch being shewn his post, went in, and placed himself in his ambuscade. The next day, being the twentieth of Zilhidje in the same year, Emir-qhan came to Court at day-break, although it was no Court-day, and brought with him the eunuch he wanted to entrust with the superintendence. He alighted from the paleky, and as soon as he had disengaged himself from the crowd of his numerous attendants, and from the still more numerous throng of suitors, he advanced towards the hall, when the abominable murderer, without giving him time to advance above three steps within the door, rushed from behind, and gave him such a stroke in the breast with his poniard, that the unfortunate innocent Séyd fell sprawling on the ground, and expired instantly. The guards took up his body,

Emir-qhan murdered.

and stretching it in his paleky, sent it home, followed by a crowd of men who were going by order to take an account of his effects and to confiscate his property.

This was opposed by the military in the murdered Minister's pay, who refused both to give them admittance(172), or to suffer the body to be buried, unless their arrears were first paid or insured. Not content with that, they shut up the gates, and would suffer no one to return home amongst those numerous noblemen that had come to console the family, and to purify and take up the body(173). In consequence of this, Haddy-aaly-qhan, elder brother to the deceased, and Superintendent of the Elephant office, as well as Abdol-medjid-qhan, Divan of the Imperial Qhalissah, were shut up within, together with a multitude of persons of high distinction, amongst whom were Naamet-ollah-qhan, and Bairam-qhan, and many other noblemen of high pedigree, and of great rank. The Emperor, incensed at the opposition made by the soldiery, ordered the Minister's effects to be taken possession of, without minding the pretensions of his troops or of his guards; and in case of resistance, he commanded that they should be put to the sword. But the Imperial soldiers themselves, sensible that it might be some day or other their own turn, refused to fall upon people that asked only for their due; and both parties being now come

(172) All the troops of Hindostan, the English excepted, are wretchedly paid. Twenty or thirty months of arrears are no rarity. The Ministers, Grandees and Princes, always keep twice or thrice as many men as they have occasion for, and fancy to concern them in the conservation of their Lord's life by witholding their pay. It must be observed that any impotent debtor, kept these many years out of his money by a powerful creditor, assumes sometimes a right of stopping his corpse. This he does by putting his hand upon it, and pronouncing a sentence of the Coran; and in general the relations and invited make up the matter by an accommodement. We have seen this done once at Lucknow by a merchant, who stopped the coffin of Mia-amber, an eunuch of the Palace, and once at Mooshood-abad. But such an attempt requires a resolute man, otherwise it will produce a good drubbing.

(173) It is customary for the nearest relations, or the best friends, to take up the Charpay or funeral bed upon their shoulders, and to carry it alternately, to the burying ground, repeating, *there is no God, but God, and Mohamed is His Messenger*. Some of the most zealous put their hand to the spade, and all throw a handful of earth upon the tomb; the body is previously shaved, washed, purified, perfumed, and wrapped; and there are a hundred rites and niceties in perfoming all those duties

to a pause, Abool-mansoor-qhan, interposed. He sent two persons of distinction to take in his name upon themselves the arrears due to the troops, and to render the last duties to the body of his murdered friend. By this time four days had been spent in messages and negotiations; the body was become offensive; and the ungrateful servants, together with the ungrateful Emperor, being obstinately bent in carrying their point, matters came at last to this settlement, that the body should be dismissed out of the house, and the deceased's effects sold publicly to as much amount as would discharge the sums due to his troops. These having kept as hostages both Sidy-Bilal(174), and Mezid-qhan-Bahadyr, the two persons of distinction, that had been sent by Abool-mansoor-qhan, then only the body of that unjustly murdered Minister was suffered to come out. He was entombed in the Monument of Qhalil-ollah-qhan, his grandfather, close to Rooh-ollah-qhan's Sera,—may the God of infinite mercy have bestowed upon him a place amongst his pious ancestors! After the burial, the deceased's effects were put up to sale, and his troops and dependants received their arrears from the amount; the Emperor having taken for himself some of the deceased's jewels and all his arms, the latter of which he so greatly admired as to pay ten or twelve lacs for them, which was more than their value, these two articles produced fifty or sixty lacs, and had cost a great deal more. It was only after the sale that the noblemen, who had come only to condole with the family, and who had been involved in its misfortunes so far as to remain besieged and confined for full eight days, found means at last to escape to their homes. Abdol-medjid-qhan, a Minister of State, was of that number; but Haddy-aaly-qhan, the deceased's elder brother, with some

(174) By his name he appears to be an Habissinian, and all Habissinians are in the highest esteem in India. The Europeans, accustomed to see in America the human nature degraded, and to pass an indiscriminate condemnation on all Africans, as a race morally and physically inferior to themselves, would be surprised to see what sort of men Africa can produce. No, Englishmen themselves are not braver or more intrepid than the Nobis or Nubians; and no European can be more faithful and grateful than an Habissinian slave. We have had slaves of both races, and have been amazed to see their exertions all over Turkey, Arabia, and Persia. In India, Negroes, Habissinians, Nobis, &c., &c., are promiscuously called Habashies or Habissians, although the two latter are no Negroes; and the Nobis and Habashes differ greatly from each other.

other persons related to the family, could not obtain their release, even after the troops had been paid off, but by presenting the servants and dependants of the deceased, with full two years' pay as a gratuity. As to the house, and the patrimonial lands, together with the appendages of the murdered Minister, they were presented by the Qhalif of the age(175), that is, by the Emperor himself, to his own daughter; and that Princess made them over to Mahmed-issac-qhan's care. Let us now pass to some matters less melancholy.

This year the Nö8-r8z fell on the ninth of the first Reby, in 1160 of the Hedjrah; and this same year Yahïa-qhan, who on Abdol-medjid-qhan's dismission had been promoted to the Divanship of the Qhalissah-office, departed his life. The third day after his demise being elapsed, the Emperor sent for his six sons, and one of his grandsons, and presented each of them with a Qhylaat of mourning; after which, of his own motion, he promoted the eldest son, who appeared the most capable, to the office of Moonshy or Secretary of State, held by his father. A few days after, the office of the Qhalissah was bestowed on Mahmed-issac-qhan, who was installed in it with a Serpah of six pieces, and that Minister in a few days after took his seat in his cuchery or tribunal, where he signed some papers as a mark of possession. On the middle of Shaaban, Agher-qhan, the Turk, Commandant of the Corz-bearers, dying(176), his son, Chaghyr-qhan(177) received, at one and the same time, a Qhylaat of mourning, and his father's office. This year likewise ushered in an event quite unexpected. Nassyr-qhan the famous Viceroy of Cabool, who had fled from the grasp of Ahmed-shah-abdali, came suddenly to Shah-djehan-abad, where he was honoured with a Qhylaat of six pieces, a sabre, and an elephant. This was in hopes that, as Nadyr-shah

(175) The word Qhalif signifies successor. It has been given to the first successors of Mahomet namely, to Aboobeker, Omer, Osman, and Aaly; and likewise to all the Emperors of the two Houses of Ommiah and Abbass. The Turkish Emperor styles himself a Qhalif, and so does the Emperor of Hindostan; and his two Capitals of Delhi and Agrah are styled in his Coins and in his Ordinances, Qhalifal Residences, and also gates of the Qhalifat. The author glances here at the hereditary aversion of all the Qhalifs against the Séyds, of which Emir-qhan was one.

(176) The Corz, or War Club, is a Turkish or Tartarian arm; and he that bears this arm in the Emperor's presence, commands a body of Corz-berdars, or guards, with such a weapon.

(177) It is very strange that these words signify in Turkish the *crying Lord*.

was no more, he might, by his connections with the Afghans of those parts, bring Cabool again under the dominions of Hindostan.

Death of Mahmed-shah.

History of Ahmed-shah-abdali, the founder of the new Monarchy of the Doorannies.

The year following, being the one thousand one hundred and sixty-first, was remarkable by two considerable events, which changed intirely the face of the Empire. The one was the the demise of Mahmed-shah, who may be considered as the last Emperor of the House of Babr; the other, the irruption of Ahmed-shah-abdali, the King of the Doorannies into Hindostan. As that Prince's invasion took place in the beginning of this year, and the battles which he gave, as well as the troubles and commotions which he caused, together with his return home, and the accession of Prince Ahmed to the throne of Hindostan, have taken up so much space of time, as to extend down to the first Djemady, we have thought proper to bring all those events into one point of view.

This Ahmed-shah-abdali was originally one of the principal Chiefs of that tribe of Afghans, settled in the province of Herat, under the name of Abdalies(178). His tribes having revolted against that conqueror of his age, the formidable Nadyr-shah, he fell prisoner in his hands, and was for some time one of the slaves of the presence; when that Prince chancing to take notice of him, promoted him to a post of Yesäol(179), and in a little time raised him to the command of a thousand men; and here it must be observed that although Nadyr-shah was one of the principal of those Turkish tribes settled in Iran, yet he had so effectually incurred the hatred of his tribe, and of the whole Turkish race(180), that being thoroughly sensible of its consequences, he had made it a point to attach to his person the several tribes of Afghans and Tooranians, or Usbeghs, which he had vanquished, conquered, and subdued. His army was mostly composed of

(178) Herat is a Capital City of Iran, or Persia, in the province of Qhorasan. It has been said, that the Afghans established there, were called Abdalies or servants of Aaly, because they had once embraced the Sect of the Shyias, although they are now zealous Sunnis.

(179) The Yesäols answer to the Indian Chopdars, or Mace-bearers, but with this difference, that the Yesäols are armed.

(180) It is those Turkish tribes who spread chiefly in the northern parts of Iran, where they live under tents, and are in general either husbandmen or shepherds, that furnish almost all the soldiers of Persia.

those two nations. From them he drew most of his officers and Generals; and he gave them so much influence and authority, that they seemed intirely to engross his attention and favour; the Afghans especially, to whom he seemed to trust still more than to the Turks of Tooran; and he raised them so high, that on his being killed, most of the principal Afghan Commanders aspired to a Sovereign power, and for a long term of years commanded as so many Kings, in most of the provinces of Iran. The most powerful of them was Azad-qhan, who was at the head of thirty thousand horse; a man who had raised such a flame in Iran, as nothing could extinguish but the waves that plentifully flowed from Kerim-qhan-zendi's sabre(181), another adventurer like himself, who vanquished him in battle, took him prisoner, and then made him one of his Generals. Ahmed-abdali was such another Commander; but he had the wisdom to avail himself of the counsels and support of Taky-qhan, Governor of Cabool, a man whom Nadyr-shah had castrated, and whom he nevertheless feared. This Ahmed-abdali, in the confusion that ensued after Nadyr-shah's death, fled from camp, and meeting in his flight a convoy of treasure which was going to the army, under the charge of Tahmasp-djelaïr, he fell upon the escort, seized the money, and made use of it to attract so many Afghans to his service, that in a short time he became a potent Prince, who struck money, and was prayed for publicly in the mosques. He made seven journeys or expeditions in Hindostan, all which shall be successively mentioned in these sheets. The first was at the end of the year 1150, being then in Nadyr-shah's victorious army, with which he likewise returned to Iran, the next year. As he had been bred by that Prince, much regard was always paid him; and the next year he obtained leave to go home, and see his friends. On his return to the army, he resolved to go in pilgrimage to the monument, guarded by hosts of Angels, the venerable Mausoleum of the Pontiff of men and spirits, Sooltan-abool-hassen-aaly, son to Moosa-reza, (on whom be grace and endless praise!)(182).

(181) These excellent Sabres made in Persia, are of a steel that seems to run into waves.

(182) This tomb is in the city of Toos, which has from thence been called Meshhede. Those that are sticklers for miracles, ought to go to that spacious mosque, where every year several miracles are performed, in so public, and notorious a manner that there is no room left for a doubt. Blind, or lame men, or maimed, knows

After having performed his devotions at that sacred shrine, he was going away, when he observed a Religieuse, setting up close to the head of the Miraculous tomb, a bit of cloth upon two sticks, as if it were a tent for small children. Ahmed could not help pausing awhile, to ask him what he was playing about? The man, looking steadfastly in his face, answered: *"Art thou Ahmed-abdaly?"* *"I.am,"* said the other. *"This tent,"* replied the Fakyr, *"is Nadyr-shah's Imperial tent; whenever it comes to fall, thou shalt become a King."* Ahmed, surprised at such a prediction, left one of his attendants at the Fakyr's, with orders to attend to the motion of the tent, and to take down the day and hour whenever it should fall; and he continued his journey to camp. He was hardly arrived, when Nadyr-shah was killed; and Ahmed, assembling those of his own Clan, fled with them, and arrived at Mesh-hed, where his first care was to visit the holy monument, and the man stationed at the tent. The latter, looking at his paper, mentioned the day and hour, when it had tumbled down of itself. Ahmed, overjoyed at this intelligence, compared the dates, acknowledged the veracity of the prediction, and from that moment he commenced to aspire to a throne. He joined to his own body of troops, as many Abdalis as he could persuade, and being now at the head of a considerable force, he engaged Taky-qhan to join his party. This Governor nick-named Capon, who was a man of consequence, that had rendered great services to Nadyr-shah, by whose order he had been castrated, was then in that country, and by his counsels he proved of great service to Ahmed. The latter now put upon his turbant the Djica or Aigrette of Sovereignty, and hearing that the tribute of Cabool and Mooltan was on its way to camp, under the guard of

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for such amongst their own tribe, and throughout that populous city, recover their sight, or the use of their limbs; and as soon as the Saint has granted such a request, the military music seated at the top of the maingate, plays the whole day to give public notice; so that imposition seems to be out of question here, and not so much as thought of; and yet imposition appears on the very face of every one of those miracles, as well as on the face of this very credulous tale. We have seen, at Mecca, two men that had recovered in Mesh-hed, the one the use of his eyes, shut up by small pox; and the other, the use of his leg. They had certificates better attested than any of those miracles so renowned in Europe; and for all that it was evident on the face of the certificates that the writers knew nothing of physics, nor of truth; and that they were mere bunglers at miracle-making.

Mir-mahmed-säyd and Noor-mahmed-qhan-Leti, two officers of character, he fell upon the escort, took the treasure, and engaged the two officers to join his party. Being thus reinforced by a good body of troops, and in possession of so much money, he marched against an Afghan who commanded in Candahar, and having killed him in battle, he took that fortress. From thence he engaged, by dint of intreaties, Shah-sabur, the Religious of the tent, to come into his camp and to follow his fortunes. This Saint-Patience (for such is the import of his name) was a grandson of the famous master Helal, the farrier of Cabool, who had likewise turned Fakyr, and was greatly revered by the Tooranians(183). Ahmed-abdaly, after seizing the above treasure, offered the Government of Cabool to Nassyr-qhan, who had commanded there ever since Nadyr-shah had confirmed him in that post; but it was on condition that, on his arrival at that fortress, he could send to camp immediately the sum of five lacs. The condition being accepted, the Governor received his Qhylaat, and he repaired to his post, where he assembled the principal inhabitants, to whom he exposed the Shah's demand. As that city is mostly inhabited by Afghans, a nation whose characteristic qualification is faithlessness and deceit, they all declared that it was impossible to raise any money amongst them. The Governor observed that, if they did not pay the money, they would be called to an account, as well as himself, and what then do you intend to do, added he ;—" We shall fight," answered the assembly. Nassyr-qhan having expressed many doubts on this resolution of theirs, they all joined in confirming their engagement by the most sacred oaths and the most solemn execrations. On which the Governor sent back the Doorrani's guards, which had come back with him from camp. Ahmed being informed of all this, ran to besiege the place, when the inhabitants, forgetting their late engagements, retired every one to their houses; and Nassyr-qhan, not thinking it safe to tarry in the place, retired to Peshavor, after having fortified some strong passes; whilst the Caboolians, joining Ahmed, informed him of the manner of penetrating to that place. The Abdaly, on this intelligence, hastened to Peshavor, and Nassyr-qhan,

(183) The Euz-beg Tartars, as well as all the Tartars and Calmuks, are called Tooranies or Tooranians in Hindostan.

seeing his danger, said farewell to his family and prepared himself for a vigorous defence.

Whilst Ahmed-abdaly was marching to besiege Peshavor, fortune was planning a new set of successes for that new Monarch. We have mentioned that, on Zekaria-qhan's demise, his second son, Shah-nevaz-qhan, had seized the Government, and driven away his elder brother; he was now governing the two Provinces of Lahor and Mooltan, with nearly an absolute authority. He had, for his Paymaster-General, one Adina-beg-qhan, who was a very devil under the appearance of a man. This man, who had resolved to overset his master's power, and to raise his own on its ruins, addressed him in these words: "*You are no more than a nephew to Vesir Camer-eddin-*"*qhan, but your elder brother, Yahia-qhan, is his son-in-law* "*besides; and he is gone to carry complaints against you to* "*Court. Rest assured, then, that neither Emperor nor Vesir* "*shall let you alone in the full enjoyment of two Governments.*" "*You have, however, one resource, and it is this: Join Ahmed-*"*abdaly's party, a powerful and successful man, who openly* "*aspires to a Crown, and will look upon your joining his party* "*as the most unexpected favour which Heaven could confer* "*upon him.*" This speech had its full effect. Shah-nevaz-qhan acknowledged the goodness of the advice, and opened a correspondence with the Abdaly. These two men soon came to an agreement, and it was concluded in these terms: *The Crown to Ahmed; the Vesirship to Shah-nevas.* The Abdaly had been so astonished at the proposal of making him a present of two such Provinces, that he had prostrated himself on the ground, and had acknowledged the Divine interposition on his undertaking. He immediately ordered the agreement to be drawn up, got it witnessed and guaranteed by the principal Commanders of his army, and then sent it by a person of distinction.

This scheme having taken place, the incarnate devil set up another. He wrote to Camer-eddin-qhan, the Vezir, "That "his nephew had conceived chimerical schemes in his mind, "affected independence, and had opened a channel of corres-"pondence with Ahmed-abdaly. That he was become so head-"strong as to make no account of the remonstrances of his "best servants; but that they would not fail to make another

"effort upon him as soon as the Minister should have endeav-"oured to sooth his mind, and to gain his heart." The Vezir, astonished at the intelligence, took pen immediately, and with his own hand wrote a very affecting letter to his nephew. The purport was, "That their family, at all times attached to the "Emperors of Hindostan, had never been defiled by the crime "of ingratitude and treason. Beware of such a crime; beware "of thinking that a traitor can thrive. It is a pity that a man "like you should wish for the honour of obeying Ahmed-abdaly, "the Yesăol, rather than that of driving such a fellow from the "frontiers of Hindostan. Would not the five Provinces of Cabool, "Cashmir, Tatta, Lahor, and Mooltan, fall into your hands in "such a case, and would not your good uncle exert himself in "supporting you with all the power of the Empire(184)?" This letter produced its effect, and he was reclaimed from his folly; but Adina-beg-qhan, who had put together all the parts of his scheme, resolved to avail himself of this rupture with Ahmed-abdaly.

We have left this Prince wondering at Nasser-qhan's defection, and marching to besiege him in Peshavor. The latter, after having defended himself as long as his provisions and ammunition lasted, and his small numbers would admit, was thinking of escaping out of the town, and providing for his safety; but this was far from being easy. His Deputy, who was equally brave and zealous, seeing his distress, addressed him in these words: *"Get out of this place as well as you can, and fly towards Hindostan. I shall contrive to hold out one day "and two nights more, by which time, you shall be too far off to be overtaken by any enemies."* Nassyr-qhan, having approved the advice, escaped out of the town with a few friends, and fled with all his might, but in distress of every thing. Meanwhile the Deputy having held out as much as he promised, was slain at the second assault; and Ahmed-abdaly got possession of the town, in which Nassyr-qhan's family and consort came into the

(184) It appears from this, that Ahmed-abdaly had already taken possession of Cashmir, which is north of Cabool, as well as of Tatta, which is south of it; the two Provinces of Mooltan and Lahor being betwixt. All those countries now, as well as Candahar, Herat, and all Qhorasson, as far as Mash-hed, belong to the Abdaly or Doorani Monarchy, as does part of Euzbeg-Tartary.

Victor's power. Ahmed, out of regard to her merit, and to her being daughter of Zir-dest-qhan, grandson to the famous Aaly-merdan-qhan(185), not only took care of supporting her with decency and honour, but he in a little time set her at liberty.

Whilst that forlorn family was receiving so generous a treatment, Nassyr-qhan arrived at Lahor, where he had taken his residence in a Mosque(186). But Shah-nevaz-qhan, no sooner heard of the arrival of such an illustrious fugitive, than he went to see him, and intreated him to join him in attacking the Abdaly. The other declined the proposal several times, and declared his resolution of going to Court. Shah-nevaz-qhan, finding he could not prevail upon him, took his leave, carrying with him that Governor's Steward. Being arrived at his palace, he desired him to accept in his master's name an equipage suitable to his rank and former station; and he immediately sent him all the elephants, horses, camels, arms, and furniture, necessary for a Nobleman of high pedigree, without forgetting a kitchen, and a water equipage(187), with a number of cooks and a quantity of provisions. To this he added four lacs of rupees in gold for his travelling charges.

The Viceroy had hardly dismissed that illustrious fugitive, when he received a letter from the Abdali-king, with an invitation to come over to his camp. The other refused flatly. The Abdaly reminded him of his engagement; and Shah-nevaz-qhan answered only by letters that shewed how much his mind was altered. This being heard of by Shah-sabur, who was become Ahmed's director and tutelar saint, and who now remembered of his being born at Lahor, and of his having lived a long time there, he took Ahmed's leave, and went alone to Lahor, where he landed in the Mufty-Abdollah's house. Shah-nevaz-qhan, hearing of that extraordinary man's arrival, sent Adina-beg-qhan and his

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(185) Aaly-merdan-qhan, after revolting from the famous Shah-abbas of Persia, then occupied against the Turks, made a present of his person, and of his fortress Candahar, to Shah-djehan, whose favourite he became.

* It is he that made that Canal of seventy-eight miles, which brings so much water to Delhi. It is now choked up.

(186) As do all Fakyrs and all people in distress.

(187) As water is cooled in India by the assistance of Saltpetre, and people are so very nice in that element as to drink only of some Rivers, the article of water becomes an office by itself.

Divan, Radja Kura-mull(188), to know his purpose. The holy man answered: "*I have no business with any of you, nor do I* "*intend you any harm. I come only because I cannot help* "*remembering that I was born in this city, had connections* "*with some of its citizens, and am under obligations to some* "*of its former rulers. I cannot help feeling for them all;* "*therfore I tell you, faithlessness has never proved successfull;* "*neither is it an object of approbation with either God or man;* "*nor is your sabre equal to Ahmed-abdaly's sabre.*" He was yet speaking, when a voice from behind broke out in this exclamation: "*Is his sabre of iron, and ours of wood?*" "*No,*" replied the Fakir, "*your sabre, as well as his, is of iron;* "*but your fortune is not equal to his. His star is now in its* "*ascension, and I do not see that yours keeps pace with it.*"

Adina-beg-qhan, who carried this message to his master, seemed to be affected by it; nor was Shah-nevaz-qhan himself without some emotion. But, however, no peace took place, and he ordered the Fakyr to be kept in custody in Adina-beg-qhan's palace. Ahmed, finding that nothing was to be gained by letters, marched to Lahor, from whence Shah-nevaz-qhan came out with a numerous army, well furnished with artillery and every other necessary; and both sides seemed eager to engage, when the Viceroy sent to ask from a Fakyr, who meddled with Astrology, what he thought would be the fate of the day. Shah-kelb-aaly (for such was the man's name) (189) answered. "*This day is* "*not favourable to you. If you can help it, abstain from fighting* "*to-day. The day of to-morrow, with the following days, will* "*be more favourable to your cause. Beware of engaging to-day.*" The Viceroy, on this answer, sent orders to his Commanders not to fight to-day, but to keep themselves within their retrenchment, even should they be attacked; in which case, they were only to repel the enemy. This said, he went to his tent, and took some repose until supper time came: and he was already seated with

(188) The importance of these two personages shews that a high degree of respect is paid to Fakyrs, and especially to living Saints in Hindostan.

(189) These words signify *Saint Dog of Aaly*. The Persians, who think al dogs impure, make however an exception in favour of Aaly's dog, and they are fond of bearing his name, which was *Camber*. Nay, they assign him a place in Paradise.

Adina-beg-qhan and some other Commanders, when they heard the report of a great gun, and then another. Upon enquiry it was found, that a body of the enemy's horse having made its appearance, two hundred Kuzzelbashes on horseback had quitted the intrenchment to fight them, and that the enemy had retired; but had come again to the number of about two thousand, which large body had dispersed on some cannon being fired at them. Some time after, a swift horseman came to the Viceroy to desire immediate assistance. He said, that Kuzzelbashes having sallied forth a second time, had been worsted and obliged to retreat within the enclosure; and as they came pellmell with the enemy, the artillery had therefore forborn firing; in consequence of which the Abdalies had penetrated within the camp, and were filling it with slaughter and confusion. On hearing this Shah-nevez-qhan was going to mount, and he immediately sent Adina-beg-qhan to the assistance of those attacked, with orders to drive the Abdalies out of the intenchment only. This officer, having put his hand upon his eyes in token of obedience, marched with his troops, but he took to the left, and contented himself with being a spectator of the engagement. By this time the Viceroy was upon his elephant, and whilst he was encouraging his men, Adina-beg-qhan advanced a little farther, but stopped short again. Luckily it was already dark, and the Abdalies had retired of their own accord. But Adina-beg-qhan having already retired with his troops within the city, even so early as the evening, a panic had seized most of those that remained, and every one strove to save himself within the walls, without minding their Officers. The Viceroy, confounded at this reverse, returned to his quarters, where he wanted to alight in his tent. This was strongly opposed by a relation of his who sat behind him, and objected that there was no safety left in camp; and that it was better to retire within the walls, and to fight the enemy from behind that cover. This the Viceroy admitted, but he proposed to take such a party only to-morrow, adding that this was an unfavourable day for him, and that to-morrow all would be well again. The other continuing to object, the Viceroy gave way; but as soon as he had turned the head of his elephant towards the city, such as had remained yet in camp, took example from him, and fled on all sides, making haste to get at the gate. At

this moment, a body of faithless Tooranians in his service, who had preserved their presence of mind, availing themselves of the general panic, fell at once upon the runaways, and commenced killing and stripping and plundering. Not content with that, they advanced to the head quarters, where they plundered the Governor's tents and equipage, whilst he was yet in sight. The Viceroy amazed at this sudden revolution, alighted at his Palace, where some of his Commanders arrived at the same time, proposing terms of accommodement. The Paymaster-General, Adina-beg-qhan, arrived also. The Viceroy bid him bring the Fakyr. The Paymaster answered, that in the confusion they had killed him. Killed him! said the Viceroy, incensed, and seizing one of the marble knobs that kept the carpets fixed to the ground, he struck the Paymaster in the breast, exclaiming at the same time, that after such an action they could not even shew their faces. Finding that matters were past all remedy, he distributed to a number of trusty servants a quantity of bags of gold, and putting some caskets full of jewels of high value in the hands of some eunuchs attached to his person, he quitted the city and fled; and thus the army without being beaten, left the victory to the enemy. The next morning, the Abdalies entered the city without the least opposition, and fell aplundering so leisurely, that nothing could escape their hands. Adina-beg-qhan had had the precaution to get early out of the place with his troops, and all his fortune, and to take to a precipitate flight. Meanwhile the Viceroy, after being overtaken by his Tooranians, who offered him all kinds of insults and ill usage, met the Vezir upon the road, who dismissed him to the Capital.

The Abdaly Prince, having in this easy manner gained a great victory, and conquered two provinces, turned his views upon the very Capital of Hindostan. He had, in his campaign with Nadyr-shah, fully observed the weakness of the Empire, the imbecility of the Emperor, the inattention of his Ministers, and that spirit of independence which had crept among the Grandees. Being now unexpectedly so far advanced, he concluded that the expedition he had determined on within himself, would not prove a very difficult task. Full of these hopes, he commenced his march from Lahor, carrying with him Mahmed-taky-qhan, the Capon, who served both as his chief Counsellor

and as his Generalissimo. Mahmed-shah, informed of this, resolved to oppose him; and he sent his son, Ahmed-shah, at the head of a numerous army, commanded by the Vezir and the principal Grandees of the Empire, such as Abool-mansoor-qhan, Radja Asiri-sing-sevãi, son to Radja Djehi-sing, and some other Radjas of the Province of Adjmir, whether of the Rhator family or others; all of which commanded troops of their own tribes. It was in the year 1161 of the Hedjrah. The principal nobility of Hindostan were in that army, such as Zolficar-djung, Shir-djung, and Muäien-el-mulk, all three sons to the Vezir. The Vezir, in receiving his audience of leave from the Emperor, was particularly distinguished by that Prince, who taking from his own turbant a fateh-pitch(190), and a nosegay of beaten gold, put them with his own hand on the Vezir's head, and dismissed him with exhortations to fight the enemies of his Crown valiantly. A fateh-pitch was likewise presented to every one of the other Lords and Generals. Zolficar-djung, elder son to the Vezir, was honoured with the office of third Paymaster-General, an office vacant since Emir-qhan's death; and he was moreover entrusted with the care of the Imperial Prince's person, over whom he was to watch as his tutor. By this promotion the office of fourth Paymaster became vacant, which was bestowed on Mahmed-issac-qhan. After these promotions the Imperial Prince marched at the head of his numerous army to Ser-hend, and advanced as far as the river Sutuludj, where he encamped on the ford. The-Abdaly-monarch, without minding the ford, marched above it by Lod-hiana, and arrived within Ser-hend; his army, by authentic accounts, not amounting to more than sixty-seven thousand horse. It was the thirteenth of the first Reby, in the year 1161. The town of Ser-hend was plundered and sacked, and every one found in arms was put to the sword. On this the Shah-zadah marched to the eneny; but on approaching a little nearer, that Prince, according to that riveted custom

(190) Fateh-pitch signifies a circlet of victory; it ought to be of steel, or of mails of iron, and common men wear it so of late, that is these fifty years, when the dress has undergone considerable changes, and is become very military. It is now turned into an ornament, and is a quilted piece of jewels or embroidery, ten fingers broad in the middle, and six or seven at the ends. It is fastened from behind upon the turbant, and comes upon it as far as above the ears, where it is made fast.

of the Hindians, who never think themselves a match for an army of foreigners, stopped short, and surrounded his army with an intrenchment and a ditch, within which he kept himself; and from the fifteenth of the first Reby until the twenty-sixth, nothing was to be seen but continual attacks and skirmishes, with great slaughter on both sides. The Abdaly had no artillery, but fortune brought him a convoy of provisions, cannon, rockets, and ammunition, which fell into his hands. He availed himself of this assistance to pour in a shower of balls within the intrenchment; insomuch that the Hindostany army, although very numerous, seemed to be besieged by the Abdalies and Kuzzelbashes. The seventh day of this singular siege, it happened that the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan, being about noon-day at his prayers(191), a cannon-ball came and killed him on the spot. This accident discouraged the Hindoos who were in camp, to the number of twenty or thirty thousand, under the command of Asiri-sing, and some other Radjahs. With one common accord they despaired of the cause, and coming out of camp, they stretched the feet of trepidation on the boundless plain of despondency, and marched back to their homes. But this desertion, considerable and discouraging as it was, did not damp the courage of either the Shah-zadah's, or of Abool-mansoor-qhan's, or of Müaïen-el-mulk's, or of the other sons of the late Vezir's. They fought the enemy several times with an undaunted courage, and always with much slaughter on both sides, until the morning of the twenty-sixth, when the Abdaly-king, putting himself at the head of his troops, gave an assault to the Vezir's quarter, but was vigorously repulsed by Müaïen-el-mulk, alias Mir-mannoo, the Vezir's eldest son, who acquired a great deal of honour in that trying occasion. A body of Tooranians, commanded by Djanish-qhan, and some other officers, mindful of the many obligations which their nation owed to that family, fought with great vigour, and cheerfully shed their blood in their defence; and vast numbers of the Vezir's troops became that day so much food to the scimitar, that devouring crocodile of the seas of slaughter and blood. The enemies pushing forwards, penetrated to the very quarter of the Shah-zadah's, and a mighty loss, together with a great disgrace, was going to befall the

(191) The Musulmen pray five times a day. The noon-prayer is the longest.

ceremony, marched to the Capital with great pomp and magnificence. Being arrived at Shaleh-mar, an Imperial seat in the neighbourhood of the Capital, he received the applause and respects of all the Ministers of State and all the Grandees of the Empire, who proclaimed him with a common voice. After this ceremony, the body of Mahmed-shah was brought out of the Haram-sera, or sanctuary, and in the middle of a pompous cortege, was carried upon the shoulders of all the Grandees, to the Monument of Shah-nizam-eddin, where it was buried in a mausoleum, close to that which the Prince's mother had erected for herself in her life-time. The new Emperor, on the seventh of Djemady, made his entry into the Capital, mounted upon a moving throne; and from thence, he went to reside in the citadel. Five days after, it being on a Friday, he repaired to the great Mosque, where having heard the Qhootbah pronounced in his name with other appreciations usual on such a solemnity, he returned to his Palace. In this same month both Mooteza-qhan and Moorid-qhan departed their lives.

The author quits his history to speak of himself.

As to myself, I was about this time in great perturbation of mind, having just lost Zin-eddin-ahmed-qhan, my patron, who had been murdered by the treachery of Shimshir-qhan; an afflicting event, which I learned at Gazipoor, and which made me retreat to Benares, from whence I went to Berheily, which was my forgiven father's residence. That city is the Capital of the countries of Bedaón and Shah-djehan-poor, &c., which constituted Nizam-el-mulk's Djaghir, and had been put by Ghazy-eddin-qhan, his son, under the command of my father. It was at his feet I lived sometime, when a terrible event happened there, from the consequence of which I escaped with difficulty, as I shall mention in the subsequent pages.

My forgiven father had been, as I have said, promoted by Abool-mansoor-qhan's influence to the Government of Sekenderah, when, taking my leave of that General, I repaired to Azimabad, where I paid my respects to my glorious mother, and visited my uncles and my other relations, most of whom were allied either to Aaly-verdy-qhan himself, or to his nephews. There also I took a spouse in the family, which my mother had appointed. From thence I followed my uncles to the wars, and in the engagements against Mustapha-qhan, I rendered such whatever services

could be expected from me. But a rupture soon took place between Abool-mansoor-qhan and my father, after the latter had remained one year in Sekenderah; and about the same time the countries of Moorad-abad, Sambal, and Berhëily having been recovered from the hands of the Rohillahs by Mahmed-shah in person, who thought proper to return those lands, and Districts to those to whom they had belonged before, either as Altumghas or Djaghirs. my father was a second time sent to command in these parts with full powers. The City of Berhëily, with the circumjacent country was a paternal Djaghir of Nizam-el-mulk's; and as in consequence of the power and usurpations of Aaly-mahmed-qhan-Rohillah, those parts had become of small revenue, no person caring to expose his purse and honor on their product, the whole had been committed to the care of my forgiven father, who found much difficulty in quieting his Government. For although Rohillah himself had been driven away, and was gone to Ser-hend, there were thousands and ten thousands of Afghans spread all over the country, where they had taken so deep root, that they had become the Zemindars of that tract, and had to their own Afghan stubbornness added all the perverseness and all the refractory behaviour inherent to the charcter of a Zemindar. So that, none but my father was thought equal to the task of bringing them to order and submission. Ghazy-eddin-qhan, therefore, having sent his own Steward thither for a while, recalled my father; and after conferring with him some time, and furnishing him wtih every necessary, and with full powers, he sent him back with instructions. My forgiven father, thus supported, raised a goood body of troops, and marching throughout the country, he soon brought the city of Berhëily and the seventeen other Districts under order and controul. For a further security, he thought it a piece of policy to admit the principal Afghans amongst his troops, and thus Serdar-qhan, of Berheily, and Mangal-qhan, of Telhur, took service with him, each at the head of about two thousand men; as did another Afghan, of illustrious race, with seventeen hundred others. This last was called Pir-ahmed, and was a descendant of Sheh-abdol-cadyr-Ghilani, the great Saint of the Afghan nation.

But these were not all the turbulent spirits of that country. There lived then in those parts a man of great character and

Hindostanies, when they were timely assisted by a body of troops in good order sent by Abool-mansoor-qhan. That General ordered the remainder of his horse, mostly Moghuls, to alight; and putting himself at their head, he marched fiercely to the enemy, preceded by some small cannon, and a number of men armed with rockets aad wall-pieces. He came in a very critical moment, and putting himself between Mir-mannoo and the Abdalies, he brought the latter to a stand; and here the engagement, taking a new vigour, became warm and bloody. The enemy already fatigued by the resistance made by the Shah-zada and Mir-mannoo, found themselves at once assaulted by a body of fresh troops, who marched in good order, and were pouring a storm of musket-bullets, cannon-balls, and rockets upon them. At this critical moment, some of the ammunition and rocket-carts, seized at Ser-hend, by some accident took fire. In an instant thousands and ten thousands of rockets and other artifices were at once in a blaze; and these flying in all directions throughout the Abdaly's army, destroyed most of the enemy's troops by heaps(192). The rest fell into disorder and confusion; and Ahmed, after having made repeated efforts to remedy the accident, and to rally his dismayed troops, reluctantly turned his back to the field of battle, and fled where his bad fortune pointed, leaving the victory to the Hindostany Prince, and the greatest part of his army on that field of slaughter. He had sent in the evening a message to Abool-mansoor-qhan, the purport of which I could not learn; but the next morning he beat the General at day-break, and marched back by the high-road that leads to Cabool and Candahar.

Mahmed-shah, on being informed of so signal a victory, and how instrumental the Vezir's three sons had been in it, especially the eldest, as well as how timely and vigorously they had been succoured by Abool-mansoor-qhan's critical interposition, could not help giving way to his joy and satisfaction, although he was then upon his death-bed. He himself read the relation, and immediately bestowed the Governments of Lahor and Mooltan

(192) It appears by the constant testimony of two officers, now in Moorshood-abad, but who commanded amongst the Moghuls of Abool-mansoor qhan's, that they took one part of the Abdaly artillery, and that the fire took only in the other part.

on Mir-mannoo, and at the same time he wrote pressing letters to his son, to Abool-mansoor-qhan, and to the other Lords, with orders to repair immediately to Court. With these letters came a Qhylaat, with which the Imperial Prince himself invested Mir-mannoo in the name of the Emperor, his father, giving him order at the same time to take possession of the two Governments conferred upon him. The Prince, after this ceremony, set out for the Capital without loss of time, as the Emperor was growing worse and worse, and signs of an approaching gangrene were making their appearance. The Monarch beheld death advancing step after step, and letters after letters arrived daily demanding both his son and Abool-mansoor-qhan. Nor did these two noble persons give themselves any rest; they were already arrived at Pani-Poot(193), in the neighbourhood of the Capital, when intelligence came that the Emperor was no more. He died the twenty-seventh of the second Reby, in the beginning of the thirty-first year of his reign, which answers to the year 1161 of the Hedjrah. But in confequence of a consultation between Issac-qhan and Djavid-qhan the eunuch, and some other Lords, to which the Empress Maleka-zemani gave her consent, his death was kept secret; so that his body, remaining some days above ground, became offensive, as had already happened to Emir-qhan's body, as if to prove that holy sentence of the Coran, "*So hast thou done,* "*so shalt thou find.*" Abool-mansoor-qhan, being repeatedly informed of all this, passed secretly with the Shah-zadah three days in mourning: and the fourth day he made choice of a favourable moment to erect a canopy, and to whirl several times round and over the Prince's head a chatry or umbrella(194), which he had run up in haste for the occasion after which he presented his nuzur by way of making his homage, prayed for his prosperity, and wished him along reign. The new Emperor, after this

(193) Pani-poot is a town three days' journey from the Capital, and upon the Canal that carries so much water to that City. Nay, this very circumstance has given name to the town, for *Pani-poot* signifies derivated water, or water's offspring.

(194) An instrument, to keep off the sun and rain, has been always held as one of the principal insignia of Sovereignty in Hindostan. It is made like a French Parasol, and a Chinese umbrella; and the Taht-taoos, or Peacock-throne, made by Shah-djehan, had such an appendage, as have all thrones of an Emperor; but the whirling it round a few times over his head, in token of Sovereignty, is curious anecdote, to be found nowhere else.

distinction, a descendant of Uzmet-ollah-qhan, one of the two brothers who had so long commanded in Moorad-abad. it was Cootoob-eddin-mohammed-qhan-Bahadyr, who was nephew to Ferid-eddin-qhan, a nobleman in whose service Aaly-mahmed-qhan, Rohillah had been for a length of time. He lived in the Castle of Cha-chutt, and seemed inclined to quarrel with my father; but he had but a small force, and still less money. My father sent him several mild rebukes on his improper behaviour; but all to so little purpose, that he was at last obliged to think of correction and chastisement. Cootoob-eddin's troops seeing that he had brought the Governor of the country upon himself, deserted him immediately, and there remained to him only twenty or thirty ancient friends and servants who would not leave him, but chose to shut themselves up with him in the above castle. Troubles in Rohil-cund. *My father hearing of this, surrounded it immediately,* and went several times round the walls on his elephant, to find out a proper place for an assault. It must be observed, that Cootoob-eddin-qhan greatly valued himself upon his skill in shooting with a musket, and, in fact, he was renowned all over the country for making use of balls and muskets of twice the size and length of the ordinary ones; and he fired with so much precision, that he never missed his mark. Several of his followers were equal to him in that art. Now as my father was going every day round the walls, both himself and his best marks-men repeatedly took aim, and repeatedly fired at him, without being able to hit any thing but the boards of his hemhary, or his cushions, or his clothes and turbant. Cootoob-eddin-qhan incensed at his eternally missing his enemy, threw down his gun, swore he would never fire again, and sent to my father to desire a conference and an accommodation. This interview was requested with a design to kill my father in the middle of the conference, the man being of such a determined daringness that he never stuck at any thing to compass his own ends. His few followers, being as daring as himself, resolved to stand by him in that trying occasion. But as they pretended fears and suspicions, it was agreed that they should come armed, and the agreement was guaranteed by Séyd-aaly-qhan, my father's fourth brother, and by Pir-ahmed, the Rohillah Commander. On the appointed day, they came out of the castle, and were received by my uncle in his tent, in expectation of

being sent for by my father. But that nobleman unwilling to meet so hastily a party of desperadoes, whom he knew to be highly incensed against him, returned for answer, that he hoped they would repose themselves the remainder of the day in his brother's tent, as his guests, and that the next morning he would give them the meeting. The man hearing such an answer, suspected some treachery; and although he with his ten or twelve men was sitting amongst a multitude of armed Afghans, and close to my uncle and Pir-ahmed, he expressed his resentment without minding his situation, and said that they ought, with their beards as men, to wear long hair upon their heads, as women; openly reproaching them at the same time, with their faithlessness in bringing him in such a deceitful manner out of the castle. My uncle and Pir-ahmed, without minding his air and tone of voice, represented mildly that no breach of faith would happen, and that no harm was intended to him; but that the Governor being eternally busy, might have particular reasons for his putting off the interview till to-morrow, and that meanwhile there was no harm at all in his requesting him to be his guest. That officer was yet speaking, when several sneakers of a cool lemonade were brought in, and a moment after these were followed by a number of tables, covered with a variety of costly and dainty victuals, to which was added a message from my father, requesting his guest to partake of such an entertainment as his camp afforded, and to take some repose until the next morning. The man, who had been both hungry and angry all this while, finding himself so gently used, dropped his resentment, and fell a eating so heartily that at the end of his meal he had commenced speaking in a friendly manner. After his dinner, some presents were sent him, which he accepted. Cootoob-eddin-qhan, seeing that no harm could be intended, altered his resolution within his heart, and became reconciled to my father. The next morning, the Derbar being full, the new guest was conducted to the audience-tent between my uncle and Pir-ahmed, followed by a numerous throng of Afghan officers. My father on descrying him got up, and having embraced him, made him sit with himself upon the same Mesned, and he received his friends as they approached one by one, in the manner which his guest seemed to wish. Cootoob-eddin overcome by so much

kindness and so unexpected a condescension, could not help exposing the intention with which he had originally come out of the castle, and he added that the sudden change wrought in his heart yesterday, together with his missing perpetually his aim,—he who had never lost a bullet—were events which he could ascribe to nothing but to some sacredness inherent in his person, and doubtless derived to him from his Séyd ancestors. My father hearing this, could not help laughing, and he continued speaking to the man with so much regard and favour, that he made a conquest of his heart; after which he proposed to him to take service in his troops, and to attach himself to his person as a friend and a companion. Cootoob-eddin, after stipulating some conditions, accepted the proffer; and thus enmity and diffidence ended in friendship and confidence.

So much sudden favour, and such marks of distinction, excited sentiments of envy and discontent in Pir-ahmed, a principal Commander amongst the Afghans, who thought he had more right to them himself. His mind was so ulcerated, that every fresh kindness shewn to the new guest seemed to thrust thorns and scorpion-stings in his heart, which otherwise was disinclined on account of the difference of sect between himself and his master, the latter being a zealous Shyah and the other a turbulent Sunni. Whereas Cootoob-eddin, as well as his friend, Sheh-müez-eddin-qhan, (an officer now living at Lucknow, and whose feats of valour and generosity we shall have occasion to mention) were of a race celebrated for their zealous attachments to the tenets of the Shyahs, as well as for their illustrious achievements, and for their being descended of persons attached to the service of the Holy-house(195), (upon all whom be grace !) He was himself respected by the countrymen as their Lord, and their master's son; and it was on that very account that my father had introduced him in all the affairs of administration. This alienated entirely Pir-ahmed's heart. He quitted the service, and sought a revenge in exciting troubles; and as the Afghans in my father's service, as well as those all over the country, were all

(195) It appears that the Shyahs, by the words *Holy-house*, understand the Temple that contains the remains of Hosséin at Kerbelah, near Bagdad, whereas; with the generality of Mussulmen the words Holy-house, or those of house of God, signify always the Caaba, or square house, within the Temple of Mecca.

either his tenants, or men accustomed to serve under him, they made it a point to join him, and to obey his summonses; and the evil rose to such a height, that my father was obliged to march against him, and to bring him to order. Cootoob-eddin, who was appointed his General, took the command of the Vanguard. An engagement ensued, when Pir-ahmed dividing his troops in two, opposed his bravest and best marksmen to Cootoob-eddin, and with the rest he concealed himself in the ruined houses of an abandoned village, and in some fields grown over with tall sugar-canes, expecting to have my father at his discretion from such an ambuscade. The engagement being already commenced, Cootoob-eddin, with his bravest men, taking his musket, and quitting his horse, rushed through the thickest of the enemy, bearing down every thing before him. They say, that whilst he was taking aim with his gun, a trooper of the enemy's sprung at his side, and crying "*Cootoob-eddin-mahmed-qhan, have at you,*" he advanced with his sabre up-lifted. Cootoob-eddin altering only the direction of his piece, answered, "*have at you yourself,*" and laid him sprawling on the ground. That brave troop of his, animated by such exertions, continued to advance through the enemy's ranks, which at last they broke entirely, and forced to an open flight, but by this time he had already advanced so far from his main, as to be within reach of that piece of sugar-cane where Pir-ahmed was waiting for my father, and the latter approaching on the opposite side, he was set upon with the utmost fury, by a body of horse that rushed out suddenly, put to flight most of those that were with him, and struck a panic in those that remained. In this state of things, my father was putting his foot out of the amhary to jump down from his elephant, and to fight on foot, when the son of Cootoob-eddin, a young man whom he had taken upon an elephant, out of regard for his father, interposed, and he observed, that so long as himself, his soldier, was alive, with so many others, such exertions would be unbecoming a General. Meanwhile some of his relations and men, seeing their Commander's danger, quitted their horses, and surrounding his elephant, they mixed with the enemy, soon covered the ground with the blood of many of them, and put the whole to a stand. Pir-ahmed was advancing himself, and encouraging his people to

push on; but Cootoob-eddin, who now was at hand, advanced to charge him. Pir-ahmed, fatigued already by the resistance he had met round my father's elephant, from that valiant troop that fought like lions accustomed to tear their enemies, and thinking himself unequal to a fresh engagement, gave way, and he retreated full of shame and confusion; whilst a zephyr of victory rising over the field of battle, unfurled the drooping standards of my father's troops, and cheered their hearts. Pir-ahmed, however, was overcome, but not ruined; and he soon came to another engagement, but was so severely beaten, that his Afghans, humbled and dispirited, slipt away one by one, and dispersed to their homes. And thus tranquillity being re-established, my father with Cootoob-eddin-qhan, his friend, lived happy in the middle of relations, acquaintances, and soldiers.

It was about this time, that, inspired by a desire of kissing the sacred paternal feet, I quitted Azim-abad a little before Shimshir-qhan's treason; and in the first days of Moharrem, of the year 1161, I arrived at Berhëily, by the way of Ghazipoor and Banares, where I was favoured with the blessing of seeing the paternal face. It was about the time when the Imperial Prince Ahmed-mirza had gained that great victory over the Abdalies, which we have sometime ago mentioned. It was at this very time that Aaly-mahmed-qhan-Rohillah, who, from being the Vezir Cammer-eddin-qhan's prisoner, had been by his influence set at liberty, and moreover promoted to the command of Ser-hend, thought proper to quit his post; after which he soon assembled an army of forty thousand Afghans, and marched by Soharen-poor and Gundj-poor, across the Djumna, directly to Moorad-abad and Berhëily, where he had once commanded with so much power; and having possessed himself of that Capital, where he established his Government and authority, he crossed the Ganga to attack my father. As soon as this intelligence was spread in the country, the Afghans that constituted the greatest part of my father's troops, being all either countrymen or acquaintances of Aaly-mahmed-qhan's, or attached to him personally, were overjoyed to see him again amongst themselves; and pretending that they were in arrears of pay by some months, they assembled in bodies, and, probably with no good intention, surrounded the house where my father lived,

within the castle of Berhëily. He had with him only about three hundred Hindostanies, from about Shah-djehan-abad, and a small number of friends, relations, and servants. By this time Aaly-mahmed-qhan being arrived within ten cosses of Berhëily, the situation of the besieged was become critical. In this conjuncture Cootcob-eddin-qhan took my father aside, and addressed him in these words, "*Rohillah is come upon us with "an army which we cannot pretend to fight, admitting even that "he had not been joined by the Afghans of these countries, "who have flocked to his standard in as great numbers as if "they had been so many locusts or pismires. On the other "hand, your very soldiers are now besieging you, and thirst-"ing after your blood. I see then no other party left but "this:—I will go out to meet Aaly-mahmed-qhan-Rohillah, and "examine his sentiments respecting you. If he is not ill in-"clined towards you, I shall engage him to let you extricate "yourself from your actual difficulties; if I discover that he "means you any ill, then I shall kill him instantly; and, as "I shall be dispatched myself upon the spot, you may then "manage as your fortune shall point out.*" This proposal my father accepted; and the brave and faithful Cootoob-eddin, having sallied out of the fort with a few of his most trusty men, went to Aaly-mahmed-qhan's quarters. Being arrived at that General's tent, he left his men at the door of the first enclosure, and went in with only two or three of them. Meanwhile those who were left without, being all extremely attached to him, and at all times ready to shed their blood for his sake, could not see him going in so weakly accompanied without being somewhat alarmed, so that two or three of them wanting to get in, were stopped by the Chopdars and other people at the General's door. Cootoob-eddin hearing the noise returned back, and striking one of the Chopdars slightly over the head, he asked him why he presumed to stop his people. This action having increased the tumult, some great mischief was likely to ensue, when Aaly-mahmed-qhan, surprised at the cries and noise, ran bare-footed out of the enclosure, and taking that illustrious hero by the hand, he drew him to his breast, embraced him tenderly, and apologised for what had come to pass. After which he carried him within the tent, where he made him sit in the middle of his own Mesned,

Singular character of Cootoob-eddin's.

himself taking a seat at the corner of it; and his behaviour in every thing else was very respectful. After interchanging the usual excuses and some customary compliments, Cootoob-eddin addressed him in these words: "*You, doubtless, have heard that* "*I am become an intimate friend of the valiant Sëyd-hedäiet-* "*aaly-qhan, the Lion in Wars; an attachment which he has* "*been pleased to repay with every mark of kindness and love.* "*You know, likewise, that his very soldiers, enticed by the hopes* "*of your coming, have ungratefully turned their arms against* "*their lord and master, and are now thinking of mischief. If* "*such is your intention also, dismiss me, that I may return* "*and lay down my life in my friend's cause, and by my zeal* "*and fidelity prepare for myself a durable monument in the* "*registers of posterity—march on with your troops, join those* "*ungrateful wretches, and by falling together upon that hand-* "*ful of besieged folks, acquire the glory of having killed a* "*Seyd. Else, if you be an open hearted soldier, and you intend no* "*mischief, then assist the man with some necessaries for his voy-* "*age to the capital, repress the seditions use your influence to* "*make them accept as much as the ready money and effects at the* "*castle can afford; and let him quit this country with safety* "*to his person, and some honour to his character.*" This speech had its full effect. Rohillah, with the most solemn oaths, protested that he intended no personal injury, and, sending for the officers of his household, he directed them to prepare an equipage suitable to the Governor's rank and condition; after which he dismissed his guest with every demonstration of honour, sending him back fully satisfied and contented. He only required that Cootoob-eddin should not go to Shah-djehan-abad, where he was apprehensive lest the forlorn state of so illustrious a man might engage the Ministers to reinstate him at the head of an army in his father's Government. My father, the next day after this treaty, came out of the castle with all his people, and took up his quarters at Pandj-mahla, a building at some distance without the walls of Berhëily, where he spent some days in much altercation about settling the respective claims of the seditious: and he was every day in the hope of being soon able to get out of their hands. At last by the Divine assistance this point was gained, and he arrived at the Capital.

About the middle way, as we had passed Feroh-abad, we heard at once a multitude of news. That Mahmed-shah had departed this life; that his son, Ahmed-mirza, had returned, after having gained an important victory; that the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan had been slain; that Mir-mannoo, his son, had been promoted to the two Viceroyalties, Lahor and Mooltan; and lastly, that Abool-mansoor-qhan had installed Ahmed-mirza in the Imperial throne at the seat of Shahleh-mar. Nevertheless, the death of Mahmed-shah had made such an impression in the country, that the roads were swarming with robbers and banditties, that did their business by troops; so that it became necessary to march with great precaution, and to be continually upon the watch. My father being arrived at Shah-djehan-abad, waited upon Ghazi-eddin-qhan, son to Nizam-el-mulk, in whose Djaghir was Berhëily and its districts; but finding that he had but little inclination to provide for such a loss, he turned his views towards Abool-mansoor-qhan. That General, who heard of his intention, sent him Radja Maha-naraïn, son of his Divan, and did him the honour to invite him to his Palace, where he repaired with the Radja, and where he paid his respects to that General, now Vezir of the Empire: an interview of which I availed myself to make my bow to that Prime Minister, and to exchange a few words with him. In a few days he was pleased to bestow on my father the command over Panipoot, Sonpoot, and the thirteen Districts under the immediate management of the Qhalissah-office; after which he got him decorated by the Emperor with the grade of five thousand horse, and with the insignia of a kettle-drum and a fringed Paleky. This appointment, being so strictly connected with the Qhalissah-office, at the head of which was Issac-qhan, afforded a fair opportunity of making a connection with that great Lord himself, by whose means he obtained for Cootoob-eddin-mahmed-qhan, his valuable friend, the Fodjdaries of Hyssar and Djudjar; and he therefore invited over that invaluable pearl of the seas of prowess, generosity, and fidelity. But that hero, who had his heart full against the Afghans and Rohillas, and who held them to be so many usurpers that had deprived him of the post of Moorad-abad, an office which was hereditary in his family from the time of Feroh-syur, and which was thought in every sense equal to a

Viceroyalty, declined the appointment, *having then other designs* in his mind. Moorad-abad, the place of his birth, was what he wanted, and all his thoughts were bent on driving the Rohillahs from thence, and on regaining that hereditary Government. This could not be attained in the Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan's life-time, who was evidently Aaly-mahmed-qhan's protector. But now circumstances had become more favourable; for Aaly-mahmed-qhan, who had come back with an army in those countries, and had conquered Moorad-abad and all the Districts that had once been in his power, was sometime since dead of a cancer. His conquests had been divided and parcelled out by his relations, for instance, by his father-in-law, Doondy-qhan, by Hafyz-ahmed and one of his sons, and by several other Chieftains, who under pretence of securing the estate for his sons-in-law, had taken possession of it for themselves; insomuch that when the real heirs came to ask their right, they were only allowed some Districts sufficient for their maintenance, but were kept out of the estate by a strong grasp. In process of time, the usurpers became masters of extensive dominions, and saw themselves Lords of armies, as well as Sovereigns of a Court.

It was such dissensions that engaged Cootoob-eddin's attentions. He concluded that this was the time to fall upon the Rohillahs, and to drive them from Moorad-abad and their other recent conquests; and he applied to Intyzam-ed-döwlah, son to Camer-eddin-qhan, for the patent of the Fodjdary of those parts, a request which was complied with the more willingly, as those countries had ceased to acknowledge any subordination to the Capital. Cootoob-eddin, then having his hands full of this project, had some reason to excuse himself from accepting my father's proffers, and he remained at the Capital to push his point with the Minister. The latter gave him, without delay, the patents he requested, but went no further; and he had thn stinginess to assist him but feebly towards putting himself in equipage, and assembling an army with the necessaries for such an expedition. But such was the high opinion entertained of Cootoob-eddin's prowess and conduct, that he found private purses that assisted him with the sums of money which his expedition required. The same renown that procured him money, procured him an army, still more than the Minister's

exhortations. Vast numbers of people, accustomed to a camp-life flocked in shoals to his standard, desirous to serve under the Hercules of his age, and soon formed him something like a Court and something like an army. Notwithstanding these reinforcements, he tarried awhile for a body of three hundred men that had been his war companions, and whose bravery and attachment he had always experienced; and it was with such a small force, and such a handful of bravoes, that he undertook to dispossess a nation of fresh conquerors, that could muster more than fifty thousand men in the field, and had plenty of money, cannon, rockets, and ammunition. When he saw himself at the head of a force which he thought sufficient for his purpose, he came out of the city, and encamped in the environs, resolved to compass his purpose or to perish in the attempt. The Afghans having got intelligence of this, assembled from all parts, and joined together at Moorad-abad. But on his drawing near, and even on his setting out from the Capital, they sent him several messages, offering to come to an accommodation, under condition that he would give up all pretensions to Moorad-abad. Their proposals were to come in for a share of the country, on the same footing with themselves, in which case they would be glad to assign him a portion suitable to his rank and pretensions, as they were desirous to see him come and enjoy the products of that country, and live happy and quiet as they did themselves. But Cootoob-eddin was too high-spirited to stoop to such an agreement, and resolved to have the whole or nothing. He advanced on them at the head of his force. The Afghans intimidated by so much obstinacy, commenced despairing of their cause, although they were so far superior to him in numbers, and in every thing necessary for war and battle; for they were impressed with the highest opinion of the prowess and conduct of that Lion, accustomed to tear his enemies. Cootoob-eddin, still advancing, was soon in sight of his foes, and an engagement took place; when that hero alighting from his horse, put himself at the head of his three hundred bravoes, and did so much execution, that the Afghans were pushed back as far as two or three cosses But he was now come into a spot full of broken ground, where their dispersed troops, observing how ill their enemy was accompanied, and how he was far from his main, commenced firing under

a variety of covers, and little by little they destroyed that formidable troop, which was now reduced to twenty or thirty men mostly wounded, but which stuck close to their heroic commander. This latter had already received several wounds; and now being aimed at on all sides like a mark, several bullets were lodged in his breast, and he at last fell, after having performed in that trying day a number of memorable actions. About one hundred of his bravoes fell round his body, mixed their blood with his own, and afforded an everlasting topic to the encomiums and regrets of both their friends and enemies. Ten or twelve men of that heroical troop having survived this scene of blood and slaughter, were taken up from the field of battle, and cured of their wounds; but it was only to become so many objects of envy and jealousy amongst military men, who all envied their fate. O God! vouchsafe to forgive their sins, and accept them in the Day of Judgment amongst the martyrs and the just!

We have already mentioned that the Imperial Prince, Ahmed-mirza, after his victory, had come to Shaleh-mar, where he was saluted Emperor by Mahmed-issac-qhan, the Minister, and by Djavid-qhan, the eunuch, as well as by all the Grandees of the city, with whom he made his entry in the Capital, and at last in the Imperial Palace. The new Emperor had offered the Vezirship to Abool-mansoor-qhan, but that General, although so very worthy of that high office, did not choose to meddle with it during Nizam-el-mulk's life, so high an opinion he had conceived of his wisdom and power. Letters and messages went to him in Decan both from the Emperor and from his Ministers. Nizam-el-mulk, already on the wing for the regions of eternity, answered by excusing himself on his old age, his inability to make voyages, and his disinclination from meddling with the affairs of the Capital. He even wrote to Abool-mansoor-qhan to exhort him to assume that high office, and he ended his letter with these words: *"You are now the most promising of the children of "these days. Take that office upon yourself, and exert your- "self in recovering the affairs of the Empire and bringing them "to some order."* This letter had its effect on Abool-mansoor-qhan, but such was the high respect he bore to the very name of Nizam-el-mulk, that he declined assuming the office in that Viceroy's life-time, who, however, lived but a few days after the

above letter. So that on hearing that he had set out for the other world in the territory of B8rhanpoor, from whence his body had been carried to Döulet-abad, in which city it had been buried without the fortress in a garden, close to Shah-burhan-eddin, he gave his consent, and conscious of adequate abilities, he went to the Palace, where he was installed in that high office by a Qhylaat of seven pieces, to which were added four plates, full of gems and jewels. So soon as he had put it on, he was saluted in full Derbar by the titles of "Principal of the King-"dom,—Centre of all Business,—Hero of the Age,—Trustworthy "of all the Provinces of the Empire,—The Father of Victory,—"The Hercules in Battles,—and the Generalissimo of the Im-"perial Forces."

But, as we have just been mentioning Nizam-el-mulk's demise, it is proper that we should leave for a while the thread of our narrative in order to say something about the characters and private life of that famous man, as well as of three more illustrious personages, who seemed to have concerted together their voyage for eternity, after having acted the most important parts on the theatre of this world. These were Emir-qhan Camer-eddin-qhan, and Mahmed-shah. After that, we shall, if it pleases God, the Author of all favours, revert to our history, and recount such remarkable events as have distinguished Ahmed-shah's reign, and Abool-mansoor-qhan's Ministry.

Umdet-el-mulk-Emir-qhan-Bahadyr, Governor of Ilah-abad, was son of another Umdet-el-mulk-Emir-qhan-Bahadyr, Governor of Cab8l. His ancestor in remote times was an illustrious man, an Husseinian-Séyd, of the branch of Naamet-ollah, whose family in process of time came to be called the Mir-miranians, from a descendant of his who received that surname(196). This family

(196) The word *Qhan* is always the first title of honour conferred upon a man. It signifies a Prince, or a mighty Lord, and answers to the English word *Esquire*, a word without consequence, doubtless; for the translator himself is a Qhan in Hindostany, and an Esquire in English. Umdet-el-mulk signifies both the greatest of the Kingdom, and a column of the Kingdom. There are two branches of Séyds, the one descended from Hassen, and the other from Hossein, both sons of Aaly, cousin to Mohammed, and of Fatemah, his daughter. Hosséin is the idol of Persians, and were his father to return into the world, he would be jealous of the figure his son cuts; for as to be grandfather, he is nearly out of question, when compared to those two. Mir-mirani, the Lord of Lords; it signifies in Persia, a Governor-General, or Supreme.

is so very illustrious, even in Iran, that it needs neither encomiums nor writing. One of these Mir-miranians, grandfather to our Emir-qhan, on some misdemeanour or some other subject, quitted the Court of Isfahan without taking leave from Shah-abbass, the Hero of Iran, and fled to Hindostan, where he was so well received by the Emperor Djehan-ghir, son to Soltan Acbar, that he soon became a favourite with him, living in his Court in the utmost splendour. His prosperity, however, was constantly embittered by the thoughts of being parted from two beloved sons, whom he had been obliged to leave in Iran, and he often declared that he would revive and seem to commence a new life as soon as he could behold them once more. His sorrow was so continual and so affecting, that amongst the several articles of instruction given to Qhan-aalem, whom that Emperor sent in Embassy to the Court of Iran, the requesting and obtaining those two beloved children was a considerable one. The ambassador rendered himself so agreeable to Shah-abbass, that he obtained all his requests, and these two sons amongst the rest. On their arrival at the Court of Hindostan, they were honoured with the title of Qhan, and promoted to the highest offices. Qhalil-ollah-qhan, the eldest, rose to considerable dignities, and from that time the family never ceased to move in the highest sphere of honours, employs and offices. Emir-qhan's uncle was Paymaster-General to Aoreng-zib, the Conqueror(197), and a great favourite of his. His father died Viceroy of the important Government of Cabool, and so satisfied was Aoreng-zib with that Governor's abilities and talents for government and for war, that so long as he knew him in that important post, he never expressed any apprehensions from the enterprising genius of the Monarchs of Iran. So that being thus left at liberty to pursue his designs in Decan, he made it a point to ascribe publicly to him every one of his conquests and victories, and he used to express himself in that style in the many letters which he wrote to the Governor. Our Emir-qhan, son of that Viceroy, arrived by his merits and abilities at so much power and influence, and he seemed to deserve them so well, that no one of the Grandees of the Empire could be compared to him. He seemed a compendium of every valuable qualification; he was besides so learned that few men

(197) Aalem-ghir.

could pretend to enter the lists with him. His prowess and military abilities could be compared to nothing but to the keenness of his penetration, and to the clearness of his comprehension, which gave him at once, as if by intuition, so comprehensive a view of every affair, either public or private, which was brought before him, that the very suitors thought themselves happy to be eased of so great a part of their trouble. He delighted in the company of all sorts of men of merit, whether they were soldiers of a determined valour, men of talents, or men venerable by their learning. Every species of talents attracted his notice: eminent singers, eminent dancers, and in general all kinds of eminent men, especially in composition and poetry. Whoever had been once in his company, could not part with him; and I have seen people fall so far in love with his conversation and character, that long after his death, no man of eminence ever pronounced his name, or reported any thing of him, or made his eulogium, without shedding a flood of tears. The numbers of men of merit introduced by him into the world is not small, and numbers there are to-day whom he has raised from penury and distress to affluence, dignities, and power—numbers whom he inlisted amongst the Lords of the Empire, and the Grandees of the State. He composed with great elegance and much facility, both in Persian and Hindostany poetry, of ten uttering extempore verses; but no man ever equalled him in the talent of saying bon mots, and in rejoining by a repartee. He possessed the art of narration in such a high degree, that people charmed with his story, kept it hanging at their ears as a fragrant flower, whose perfume they wished to enjoy for ever. On the other hand, his generosity was such that, when he had once allowed a pension to some one, high or low, he never recalled it, but continued it to the person, although the occasion and necessity should have ceased long ago. Ingeniously delicate, everything about his person or in his Palace, received from his directions such an elegance of form, that from that moment it was taken up as a pattern by all men of taste, and thenceforward became the fashion at Court, and the standard of elegance both for apparel and furniture(198).

(198) There is a whole book of the remarkable sayings of Emir-qhan, and we have already mentioned two of these. There is another which shews the readiness of his wit. Mehreban-qhan, a Lord, whose disgrace he had procured, being in

Truth will not permit us to say much of Camer-eddin-qhan, notwithstanding he was Prime Minister of State, and bore the titles of "The Trust-worthy of the Empire, and the Victorious in "War." He was son of Mahmed-amin-qhan, who had cut so great a figure in the beginning of Mahmed-shah's reign, and drew his pedigree from Qhadja-Ehrar. Mahmed-amin early quitted Tooran(199), his native country, and came into Hindostan in Aoreng-zib the Conqueror's time, where he rose by degrees to the military grade of five thousand horse. In process of time he rose to the grade of seven thousand, and this happened in Feroh-syür's reign chiefly through the countenance he received from the famous Abdollah-qhan, which, however, did not prevent him from joining in the conspiracy for murdering Hussëin-aaly-qhan, brother to his benefactor. He was promoted to the Vezir-ship in the beginning of Mahmed-shah's reign, but enjoyed that office but a few months, having been seized by the claws of Death, that universal Tyrant who mows down indiscriminately the Minister with the beggar. Camer-eddin-qhan, his son, enjoyed in his father's life-time the office of third Paymaster-General(200), and of Superintendent of the bathing-place or private appartments; and he was promoted to the Vezirship after Nizam-el-mulk's departure for Decan, in which high office he exhibited no great talents for government, being slothful, inattentive, indolent, and eternally immersed in all kinds of pleasures(201);

Mahmed-shah's company, complained bitterly of an affray in which the cart-men had beaten his people. I know not how it happens, added he, but all those whose names or callings end by a *Ban* prove all faithless, all ungrateful, all unruly and quarrelsome; *Gariban*, Cart-man, *Sar-ban*, Camel-driver, *Gooser-ban*, Toll-man, &c. &c. True, *My Lord Mehre-ban*, interrupted Emir-qhan, whose cart-men had headed the affray; what you say is nothing but true. I have experienced it this longwhile, and I am glad that you are become sensible of it at last.

(199) What they call *Great-Tartary* and *Siberia* in Europe, is called *Tooran* all over Asia; but *Eusbeg Tartary* or *Turkestan* is more properly understood by that name in Hindostan.

(200) We have already observed that the Paymaster-General is always a military man, and something like a Major-General.

(201) He had a Seraglio of five thousand women, which being dressed by regiments in gold or silver tissues at such a particular day, were let loose in a park or garden, where he used to gallop up and down after them mounted upon a nag. But he had besides another Seraglio, in the style of that kept by Trajan; and this was of no less than fifteen hundred persons, as handsome as could be found throughout the Empire.

but he was inoffensive, and such an enemy to oppression, that the people of the Capital remember him with regret to this very day. He was a magnificent friend, and a bountiful patron, but a weak Vezir, wanting firmness and activity. He lived in a style of the utmost grandeur and magnificence, denying himself no kind of pleasure, and passing his time in tasting of every one of them successively. He died, as we have said, a month and some days before his master Mahmed-shah's demise.

This Prince, who was son to Djehan-shah-qhojista-ahter, grandson to Bahadyr shah, and great-grandson to Aoreng-zib-Alemghir, wanted neither genius nor abilities; but he was so very good-natured, that in that respect he exceeded the measure, proper in the character of Kings and Princes. Naturally of a passive temper, and wanting firmness of mind, he was apt to be led by his servants, and he became dependent on his Ministers in such a manner, as to become as indolent as themselves, and as incapable to recover the Empire from that state of debility in which it fell under Feroh-syür. Young and handsome, and fond of all kinds of pleasures, he addicted himself to an inactive life, which intirely enervated the energy of the Empire. This inactivity of temper became still more conspicuous after Nadyr-shah had ruined his Capital, and restored him his crown. The fire of his youth and the turbulence of his passions having then subsided, his genius subsided likewise; he studied his repose above all things, and so as to become averse to business. About the end of his reign, he seemed to have taken a liking to the conversation and company of Fakyrs and religious men, and he condescended so far as to listen to a representation from them with the best grace in the world. Being naturally averse from blood and violence, his subjects under his reign enjoyed much rest and prosperity. It may be said with truth that, under his reign, the Government was still respected, the honour of the Empire supported, and the Majesty of the Throne kept alive and standing; for, after his demise, every thing went to wreck, and he may be considered as the seal and last of the Emperors of the House of Babr. A little time after his demise the words, Empire and Emperor, became only empty sounds and mere names, that conveyed no distinct meaning.

The principal of those that contributed to all that decay, was Nizam-el-mulk, who was styled the wise Minister(202). He was son to Ghazi-eddin-qhan-Bahadyr, and grandson to Abed-qhan. His own name was Camer-eddin, and he descended from Sheh-sheab-eddin. His maternal grandfather, Saad-ollah-qhan, was supreme Vezir to the Emperor Shah-djehan, but his paternal grandfather, Abed-qhan, was one of the most venerable Magistrates of Samarcand(203), from whence he came into Hindostan in that Emperor's life-time, and was taken into the service of the Imperial Prince Aoreng-zib, who on his mounting the throne, raised him to the grade of five thousand horse, and twice promoted him to the office of Sadr-el-soodoor(204). Being at the siege of Gol-conda(205), with that Prince, he was struck by a musket-ball, and fell at once both from the palfrey of fortune, and the horse of existence. His son, Shehab-eddin, came to be one of the Lords and Grandees of Aoreng-zib's Court, and rose by degrees to the grade of seven thousand horse, and to the title of "Victorious in War," serving as a principal General in his armies. At the taking of Bidjapoor, he was decorated with other titles of honor. After his master's demise, we find him Governor of G8djrat, under Bahadyr-shah. He died in the year 1152, and left a son called Camer-eddin-qhan, *alias* Nizam-el-mulk, who in Aoreng-zib's reign was honoured with the surname of "The Sabre-drawing Lord(206)," and the grade of five thousand horse. At the end of that Prince's reign, he was Governor of Bidjapoor(207). In the beginning of Bahadyr-shah's reign, he was Governor of A8d, with the title of "Lord of the Age(208)." A little after, we find him disgusted at the absolute authority assumed by the Vezir,

(202) Asef-djah, he that sits in Asef's stead, which Asef was Solomon's Vezir.

(203) Samar-cand, the Maracanda of Qint-Curtius, is now a great city of Euzbegh-Tartary.

(204) Sadr-el-soodoor, Bishop of Bishops, or great Almoner

(205) Gol-conda was once the Gentoo name of Bagnagar, now Haiderabad. It is still the name of a very large Fortress at four cosses from thence. *Feroz-djung* is translated in English, *Victorious in War*

(206) Chin-kylydj-qhan are the text of the words *Sword-drawing Lord*. They are Turkish, the original language of all that family.

(207) Bidja-poor is the same as the Vizapoor, or, more properly, of the Vizia-poor of our charts.

(208) Qhan-dö8ran.

Assed-qhan, or his son, the Generalissimo Zulficar-qhan, and resigning both his Government and title, to take up the garb of a Fakyr, and to lead a retired life. At the beginning of the reign of Muëz-eddin-djehandâr-shah, he was requested to re-assume his grade and title, and to appear again at Court. On the first year of Feroh-syur's reign, he was decorated with the titles of "Composer of the Kingdom(209)," and "Victorious in Wars," promoted to the grade of five thousand horse, and appointed to the Viceroyalty of Decan. But some time after, that important office having been bestowed on Husséin-aaly-qhan, the famous brother of Abdollah-qhan, Nizam-el-mulk returned to Court, where, as an atonement for that recall, he received the great Fodjdary of Moorad-abad, which was equal to a Viceroyalty. Under the young Emperor, Refy-el-derjat, he was, by Abdollah-qhan's recommendation, promoted to the Government of Malva. But that did not prevent his falling out with him, as well as with the Viceroy, his brother; for in the beginning of Mahmed-shah's reign, he gave them the slip, and went into Decan, where he at once possessed himself of some of the provinces that go by that name, and in process of time, of all the six and-a-half Governments that compose that part of the Empire. On Mahmed-amin-qhan's demise, he was promoted to the office of Vezir, which he held but a short time. Being dissatisfied with the Grandees of the Court, and likewise with the Emperor himself, whose sentiments seemed altered, he quitted the Court, and retired to his Government of Decan, with which he lived satisfied. Still he was recalled to Court, and on Qhan-döoran's death, was decorated with the title of "Lord of Lords(210)," then vacant. But hearing at the same time that his second son, Nassyr-djung, whom he had appointed Deputy in Decan, had become rebellious, he resigned his office of "Lord of Lords," in behalf of his eldest son, Ghazi-eddin-qhan, and returned again to Decan, as we have already mentioned in the First Volume, and likewise in this Volume. Nor is that Decan to be thought of slightly. It contains the aggregate dominions of several ancient Kings, and it is in such an extensive tract that he governed with an absolute authority for the space of seven and

(209) Nizam-el-mulk-Nassyr-djung.

(210) Emir-ul-umera.

thirty years. His character was so highly respected amongst all the Lords and Grandees of Mahmed-shah's Court, although some of them were of equal dignity, that they never wrote or spoke to him but as to their superior, and never demeaned themselves in his presence but with deference and submission.

Covetousness and ambition seemed to be the basis of his character; but if we can pass over that, we shall find him endowed with a number of excellent qualities. He was a man of eminent merit, who filled a very exalted station that equalled him to the greatest Kings, with all the talents and all the sublime qualifications which his situation required. His Palace was at all times open to the poor, the needy, and the aged, as well as to the learned and the deserving; in one word, to all that had any suit to prefer. To all these he ever paid a strict attention, being careful to relieve their wants. His character for distinguishing merit, and for rewarding it to its full extent, was so universally spread, that men of parts, and also people of all sorts, flocked to his Court from all the neighbouring countries, from Arabia, and from Mavera-al-nahr(211), from Qhorasan, from Harac, and from R8m; and all were sure to advance their fortunes in his service. Fond of public works, he finished the walls of the city of Boorhanpoor, which he had commenced in the year 1141, and he re-peopled the city of Feridapoor which he found ruined, and to which he gave the name of Nizam-abad, building in it Mosques and Caravanseras, as well as a Palace and a bridge. He likewise raised walls round the city of Haïder-abad, and built a superb Mosque at Aoreng abad. The canal that runs through the middle of that city, is a work of his. Afford repose O Lord of mercy and forgiveness, to such servants of Yours! He was a man of great equality of temper, and a learned one, fond of uttering extempore verses; and there is a Poem and a volume of Poetry of his, actually extant. He departed his life thirty-seven days after Mahmed-shah's demise, and it was the fourth of the second Djemady, in the year 1161 of the Hedjrah. Mir-gh8lam-aaly, the Poet of Belgram, has comprehended in six words the chronogram of those three

(211) Mavera-al-nahr is Arabic, and signifies the country on the other side the water, the Trans-oxana of the ancients. Qhorasan is one of the six grand divisions of Iran and Persia, as is Harac, or Hircania, another division. Room is the Roman country, or the Turkish Empire.

illustrious men deceased at the same time. It is in an enigmatic style.

" Past are they all three, whilst I am sobbing and saying, ah! for one.
" Gone are the King, the Vezir, and Assef-djah."

But he has spoken in a more open manner in the following verses:

" Fallen are, ah! the three columns of this Empire;
" Disappeared are they from this world, as three precious pearls from an unlucky hand.
" I have comprehended these three invaluable losses in this single verse:
" Gone is the King, the Vezir, and the Assef of this age."

After complimenting our readers with that digression on those eminent personages, we shall return now to the thread of our history. The Emperor and his Vezir being now satisfied as to Nizam-el-mulk's intentions, the dignity of Lord of Lords, with the office of first Paymaster, was bestowed on Saadat-qhan, son to another Saadat-qhan, who lived under Feroh-syur; and in the fourteenth of Redjeb of the same year, the Vezir Ab8l-mans8r-qhan went to Court, where he was received with the utmost distinction, and complimented with a sabre and a poniard of jewel-work, with a variety of other jewels, and with a Qhylaat of seven pieces. He was at the same time installed with a rich belt in the Government of Acbar-abad-agrah. The command of the Ahedian Guards was at the same time bestowed on Ahmed-aaly-qhan, son to his sister; and as Issac-qhan's sister had of late been married to Shudjah-ed-dŏwlah, son to the Vezir, this alliance raised that popular nobleman's power to the utmost pitch; and he soon succeeded his father, the late Issac-qhan, in the Divanship of the Qhalissah. But a man who suddenly came to cut a great figure at Court, was Djavid-qhan. This eunuch, who had from a long time intimate connections with Oodem-bāy(212), mother to the reigning Emperor, became so great a favourite with that Prince also, that he fancied himself a Minister of State, and indeed soon came to act as such, through the insinuations of that Princess, on the mind of the weak Prince, her son. As he was an ancient slave of the Imperial household,

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(212) The words Bay, Poori, Coar, &c., added to a woman's name, always attest her to be or to have been a dance-woman, that is, not a prostitute, but a Courtezan; a sort of women admitted in all companies in Hindostan, and treated with demonstrations of regard and honour.

in high favour with the late Emperor, and in consequence of his connections with the Empress's mother, possessed a perfect knowledge of everything within both the sanctuary and the palace, he was thought the fittest person for the office of Nazyr, an important charge that gives an absolute controul within the Seraglio, and was vacant since R8z-afzoon-qhan's decease. In this manner he came to be master of the Emperor's private hours. That Prince, who in conformity to his maternal origin was in fact full of levity, and carried a head without brains, soon came to follow the example set him by that man. He fell into a course of crapulence and debauch; and he abandoned the helm entirely to him. So that the latter who was now decorated with the title of Navab-Bahadyr, or the valiant Deputy, commenced meddling in every matter of State, and at last came to have his opinion abided by, as a matter of necessary form. Such an authority in an eunuch was more than the high spirit of Ab8l-mans8r-qhan could bear, and as the other made no secret of his influence, every day furnished new matter of discontent, and incessantly afforded fresh fuel to that fire, which in a little time blazed out in a flame. About this time the office of second Paymaster, with the Fodjdary of Moorad-abad, was bestowed on Intyzam-ed-döwlah, one of Camer-eddin-qhan's sons, and a few days after a Qhylaat of mourning was given to Ghazy-eddin-qhan on the demise of his father, Nizam-el-mulk; it was Djavid-qhan who put an end to his mouring, and brought him to Court. On the seventeenth of Redjeb, the charge of Comptroller of the Qhassah-office, together with a military augmentation of a thousand horse to his grade, was bestowed on Asker-aaly-qhan, and a few days after the Government of the Province of Adjmir was presented to the Vezir. About this time, being in Shaaban, Haddy-aaly-qhan, that illustrious proselyte of a new sect, departed this life, and was entombed near Shah-nom8d, his Director's monument. Terbiyet-qhan likewise died in this month; nor did this year produce any more important events. But now the scene will become more interesting.

We have already mentioned that Aaly-mahmed-qhan-Rohillah had returned with an army to the country of M8rad-abad, &c., and after having taken possession of it, had expelled my father, the Imperial Governor; soon after which he died of a cancer that

had spread all over his back. This event was seized upon by the Vezir Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, who had been taking this long-while much umbrage at the establishment which those warlike people had made on the frontiers of his Government of A8d. He had already engaged Mahmed-shah on an expedition intended to extirpate them, but which did not produce its full effect, his plan having been counteracted by Camer-eddin-qhan's management and double-dealing. An opportunity offered now to resume his scheme. He was himself become Vezir, and Director of all the affairs of the Empire. Aaly-mahmed-qhan-Rohillah had just crossed over to the valley of Nothingness, and divisions had arisen in the family of that new founder. With this view he engaged Cäim-qhan, son to Mahmed-qhan-Bangash, to recover that whole country from the hands of Rohillah's family, sensible that the defeat and ruin of either party would prove of so much gain to himself. Cäim-qhan, who had already cast a wishful eye on the private and public estate of Rohillah's family, besieged his children in the castle of Budäon, and straitened them so far as to prevent their having any communication with any one without. These were Saad ollah-qhan, eldest son of Rohillah, a young Prince, who had married Hafiz-rahmet's daughter, and being reputed his father's representative, actually sat on his Mesned; but the other was Dondi-qhan's son-in-law, and both these Chieftains having taken possession of the country in right of their sons-in-law, had in fact kept it for themselves, although the civil government was still in the hands of Saad-ollah-qhan. The latter, who was shut up with his whole family, and that of his father, finding himself reduced to the last extremity, and straitened by an enemy that would not relent, at once took his party. He came out of the castle, and having assembled some troops, he resolved to risk everything in defence of his life and fortune. This happened in the tenth of Zilhidj, in the year 1161. Dividing, therefore, his troops into two parts, he concealed one in the bed of a river which had become dry, and advanced with the other against Cäim-qhan. The battle having already commenced and become very warm, Saad-ollah-qhan, unable to bear the attack of the whole Afghan nation, which fought under Cäim-qhan's orders, was obliged to retreat, and at last he fled full speed; but still he turned about

Death of Ally-mahmed Rohilla.

The Vezir foments the troubles which follow.

now and then, and charged his pursuers, till at last he came to the ambuscade. Cäim-qhan, in the full hope of victory, was pursuing with ardour, followed by almost all the Commanders of his army, when at once some thousands of Saad-ollah-qhan's people, who were concealed in the dry bed, got up, and let fly such a shower of balls and rockets, that Cäim-qhan himself, with all his Commanders, were killed on the spot, together with a vast number of his soldiers; thus leaving a complete victory to Saad-ollah-qhan.

Whilst the Afghans were involved in civil wars, the Court seemed busy in promotions and rejoicings. The Nö8-r8z was celebrated on a Friday, the second of the second Reby, and a few days after Mirza-muhsen, elder brother to the Vezir Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, departed this life. About the end of the same year, Aaly-amjed-qhan was honoured with a fringed Paleky; but two months after, as he was at his day-break devotions, and reciting *prayers upon his clay of mercy and health*(213), he suddenly fell down and expired. This appearance of tranquility at the Capital soon gave way to troubles of a most alarming nature.

We may remember that Mir-mannoo, the late Vezir's eldest son, had been appointed to the double Government of Lahor and Mooltan by Mahmed-shah himself. To support so great a burthen, he had taken Begari-qhan as his Deputy, and had allowed him an absolute authority. The new Viceroy had just taken possession of that important post, and had found no time yet to prepare either an army, or to take any measures, when at once

(213) The Persians and all the Shiyas, who pay an idolatrous worship to every thing that relates to Hosséin, never make use of any other beads but those made of the clay of Kerbelah, where he is interred. This clay is dyed of a yellow-green, and baked; they suppose it to be always of the soil taken from that Mosque. Was this the case in fact, the Mosque would have tumbled down long ago. Those beads are made of the soil of the territory of Kerbelah, where every thing is stiff clay. Great miracles are ascribed to the holy clay, and no Shya will pray unless he has before him a piece of that clay, twice bigger and thicker than an English Crown, on which he never fails to lay his forehead in every one of the numerous protestation which characterise the Mahometan prayers. A little of that clay is likewise put in a dead man's hands, and he is buried with it. It is given to the sick, and vast numbers of them daily recover; and as it is likewise greatly instrumental in procuring the remission of sins, it is held by them as a miraculous Panacaa. Hence the reason of that clay's being called the clay of health as well as mercy.

news came that Ahmed-shah, the Abdaly, was again marching to Lahor. Unprepared as Mir-mannoo must have been, he was obliged to present himself against that Monarch; but as neither party had sufficiently prepared themselves for a decisive engagement, the Viceroy thought it better to shake the chain of friendship and accommodation, in the Abdaly's ears, and to smother a fire that had not yet broke out in a flame. The Abdaly, who was no better prepared, was glad to hear that the affair took such a turn, and he agreed to retire, on the Viceroy's promising to him the revenue of four Districts that had always been appointed to defray the pay of the garrison of Cab8l, a condition which Nadyr-shah had likewise stipulated. These were Syal-cot, Acreng-abad, G8djrat, and Pursurvur; and this condition being accepted, he retired to his own dominions and left the Vezir at liberty to follow his scheme against the Rohillas. Troubles in M8ltan quashed.

This Minister no sooner heard of the state of affairs at Moorad-abad, than sensible that he had benefited in every sense by the defeat of one of the two parties, he resolved to avail himself of it so far as to recover those countries from the hands of the survivors. With this view he came out of the city with the Emperor, on the first day of Zilhidj, and took up his residence in tents. In a few days he arrived at Kevol, where leaving the Emperor behind, he advanced himself to the river Gundj, which is only at twenty cosses from Feroh-abad. This approach intimidated Cäim-qhan's mother, consort to Mahmed-qhan-Rohilla, who finding herself shut up in the place without any resource, submitted to necessity, and paid in money and effects a contribution to the amount of sixty lacs. After this the Vezir called Saad-ollah-qhan to an account for the elephants, horses, equipage, and artillery, which had belonged to the vanquished, and also for the Nazurana due to the Imperial Treasury, and got from him a large sum, but which did not become public. On hearing of this success, the Emperor returned to his Palace, and a few days after he celebrated the Nö8-r8z, which fell on the 12th of the second Reby of the same year. Meanwhile the Vezir, who had tarried some time about Feroh-abad, was busy in receiving the promised sums, and in taking possession of the country of the Bangash Afghans; but he thought proper to leave untouched the city of Feroh-abad, and the twelve Districts round the same, The Vezir marches against the Rohillas.

which had been Bangash's Altumghah or irrevocable fief ever since Feroh-syur's reign. He left the whole for the subsistence of Cäim-qhan's mother and family. Having in this manner recovered in a little time the stipulated sums and effects, he sent for Nevol-ráy, the Deputy he had left at A8a, and put under his care and absolute authority the whole of the conquests he had lately made, after which he returned to the Capital.

This Nevol-ráy, who was originally a Cäet by tribe, and of the lowest officers of Ab8l-mansoor-qhan's household, had rendered his master so many services, and he had become so very agreeable to him, that he was promoted to high offices, made his Deputy throughout the whole Government, and rose to so much favour, as to be equalled by no one man in the service. This Deputy took up his residence in the city of Cannodje(214), the private appanage of his master's, and only at twenty cosses from Feroh-abad; from whence he spread his officers and collectors all over the country. He also seized most of the brothers of Cäim-qhan, I mean such as were from other mothers, together with some trusty slaves of the family, and sent them all prisoners to the castle of Ilah-abad; at the same time his violences and extortions rose to such an excess, that they became the real cause of the troubles and mighty events that followed. Cäim-qhan's mother sent word of all this to Ahmed-qhan, her half-brother, an officer of consequence in the Vezir's service; and she informed him that "*the honour of the Afghan nation was gone, as well as "that of his father's; but that if there remained any sense of "pride in him, now was the time to produce it, and to approve "himself a true Afghan.*" She likewise sent messages, full of taunts and reproaches, to all the Afghan Chiefs of the neighbourhood. The Afghans roused by these messages, assembled in troops, and swore every one to each other that they would not part society, until they had destroyed both Nevol-ráy and his

The Afghans, roused by the message of Cäim-qhan's mother, raise upon Nevol-ráy.

(214) Cannodje, on the Ganges, has been the Capital of India fifteen hundred years ago, as it has been likewise for thousand of years before that period. It was surrounded by lofty walls of twenty leagues in circuit, which in a country so very continent as India, contained no less than sixty thousand prostitutes, paying a tax, and as many shops for Paan or Beetle. If that be so, it must have been as big as Delhi has been under Mahmed-shah, and must have contained as well as this two millions of souls. This immense city, although partly inhabited, is now in ruins as is Delhi itself, where grass grows abundantly in the streets.

power, and recovered their own country. Nevol-rây, informed of this general revolt, applied to the Vezir for assistance, and meanwhile he came out of Cannodje with the troops he had under his command, and he entrenched himself in expectation of the succours which had been already dispatched. The Vezir having taken his leave of the Emperor came out of the city, and encamped at the ford of Aubely, on the banks of the Djumnah, where he took up his residence in a seat until he had assembled all his troops. In a few days he dispatched Nassyr-eddin-haïder-qhan, his brother-in-law, together with Mahmed-aaly-qhan, a Commander of character, to Nevol-rây's assistance, and two days after, he dispatched likewise Ismaïl-beg-qhan, called the slave-boy, a very trusty Commander of his, on the same errand. This was followed by Radja Debi-Dutt, Fodjdar of Kevol. But before these succours could come up, Ahmed-qhan had already appeared with a large body of Afghans before Nevol-rây's intrenchment, and that officer who had already quitted the Vezir's service, and wanted to put the Deputy off his guard, had undertaken to amuse him with a variety of messages about an accommodation. The negotiation was kept on foot, until the tenth of Ramazan, when there appeared at once a great body of Afghan horse in the front of Nevol-rây's intrenchment, where was all his artillery; and whilst his attention was taken up with these, a large body of infantry turned his camp, and falling on his rear, penetrated through his intrenchment, and marched straight to his quarters, where they cut him down. This execution was done so rapidly that Ata-ollah-qhan, one of the best officers of the camp, (whom we have mentioned in Aaly-verdy-qhan's history, as a nobleman, who had married Rabiah-begum, and of course was son-in-law to Hadji-ahmed,) found just time to fly to Nevol-rây's assistance with his troops, and to lay down his head at his feet. He was slain together with a number of brave soldiers and gentlemen, who distinguished themselves on that occasion, and set out in company for the kingdoms of Eternity. They were mostly of the environs of A8d and Lucknow, and especially of Belgram, a town in the neighbourhood of the latter city, and famous for the hereditary bravery of its inhabitants. The artillery, as well as every thing in camp, fell a prey to the Afghans. This intelligence being

carried to the Vezir, seemed to affect him much more sensibly than the troubles that were rising in Decan, a part of the Empire which seemed now quite independent.

Nassyr-djung, second son and successor of Nizam-el-mulk, having been sent for this year by the Emperor, had advanced to the banks of the Nerbedda with about seventy or eighty thousand horse, all old troops. But as the Emperor did not like his coming so well accompanied, he wrote him a letter with his own hand to inform him that he had altered his mind, and given him liberty to return, an order which the other complied with the more readily, as he had just been informed that his own sister's son, Hedaïet muhi-eddin-qhan, surnamed Muzafer-djung, pretended to independence in Decan. He therefore returned, and soon arrived at his Capital, where he gave rise to some events which we reserve for the subsequent sheets, our intention being now to go on with the Vezir's expedition.

The defeat of Nevol-ráy having made a deep impression on that Minister's mind, at the very time he was himself marching to his assistance, he, on the month of Shaaban of the year 1163, returned to the Capital, and took a fresh leave of the Emperor; on which occasion Issac-qhan, and Mir-baca, son to the late Camer-eddin-qhan, were ordered to attend him with the Imperial troops. As the Vezir was setting out, he was complimented by the Emperor with a sabre, a buckler, and a coat of mail, together with a variety of other curious things, the Emperor being desirous of shewing him every kind of regard, and of raising his character in the opinion of mankind. Issac-qhan received a fateh-pitch and a sabre, but Mir-baca, a fateh-pitch only; and both were ordered to obey the Vezir's orders. The latter setting out at the head of his troops, marched twenty cosses in three or four days, at which time he received further news about Nevol-räy and the country under his command. He was then at Barr, a large town inhabited only by Séyds. There he assembled his troops, and he also sent for my father, a nobleman, of whom he had made a friend, and whom he had appointed to the command of Pani-p8t and Son-poot. Having spent about a month in the several seats round Barr, he found himself at the head of seventy thousand horse; but before his departure there happened a strange event, of which the by-standers drew a bad omen for his expedition.

On the eighteenth of Ramazan, a camel-driver belonging to a Moghul, chanced to cut down a tree which grew at the door of one Enäiet-qhan, a man in the Vezir's service. The latter trusting to his master's high power, seized the driver and chastised him as he deserved. On this the other camel-drivers assembled in a body, and went to complain to the Moghul, who was a Commander of a body of horse in the army. The Moghul sent his people to fetch Enäiet-qhan. On which a multitude of horse and foot ran to Enäiet-qhan's house, and some one who knew nothing of the quarrel, having chanced to say, on looking at those armed men, that an order had come for sacking the town, this word seemed to be taken up as a signal for a general plunder. All the Moghul officers of the camp with their countrymen, got up in an instant, it being in the afternoon, and fell like so many incarnated devils on the inhabitants of that unfortunate town, which they ruined in a little time. They also killed Enäiet-qhan and his son, a youth of eighteen. On the first report of the tumult, the Vezir had dispatched Haïder-qhan with a number of Nissiqhchies to put a stop to the disorder, and to drive away the plunderers. But until this officer could arrive, and until the Nissiqhchies could make an impression upon them, all was over. Vast numbers of people were slain; and the consorts and children of so many Séyds, and of so many people of the better sort, who inhabited that town, were carried in captivity, and experienced every usage which an unbridled soldiery could inflict. Women, children, furniture, everything was made plunder of. Haïder-qhan, after having exerted himself the whole night, was so lucky about the dawn of the day, as to assemble a number of captives, which he drew one by one from the tents of those accursed Moghuls, and he lodged them together in a set of tents which the Vezir had ordered to be pitched on purpose for them. This Minister himself had passed that whole night without going to bed. He was often observed to shed a flood of tears; nor could he be prevailed to eat anything the whole next day, which he spent in inquiring after so many matrons that had never set a foot out of a house, and were now in the hands of his soldiers. These he sent to their homes. Children of all ages, which those accursed men had concealed in fosses of their own digging, which they had covered with branches of tress and

The Town of Barr, wholly inhabited by Séyds, is sacked by the Vezir's Moghul-troops.

with turf, were found out, brought to the Vezir, and returned to their disconsolate friends. On beholding that universal desolation, one might have said that the last day of the world was come for that unfortunate town, and that it had undergone the Supreme Judge's sentence. Nothing was heard but sobs and lamentations both there and all over the plain. The Vezir sent to the wretched inhabitants the head of the Moghul Commander.— But to what purpose? Past was what was past, and it was irremediable. Two days after that dreadful event, that Minister left Barr, and moved forwards; but people had already commenced to say, that his expedition would not be attended with success, and they applied to him and to his men, these known verses of Saady:

"That smoke which you see does not rise from that Rue you are burning;
"That smoke rises chiefly from the oppressed man's heart."

The two armies being in sight of each other, the Vezir sent for my father, who was now a chief Commander in Issac-qhan's troops, and as he had long governed at Berhëily and Moradabad, and was acquainted with the Rohillas and with their manner of waging war and of engaging an enemy, he requested to hear his advice and opinion. My father answered, "*That "these people dealt very much in ambuscades and feints. That "their custom was to appear in great numbers, and after a "slight combat to draw the enemy into some snare, when they "turned about again, and faced him afresh. But that when-"ever such a stratagem of theirs failed of success, it was their "practice to turn their backs, and to fly in earnest, as soon as "they were sensible of their being pursued slowly and with "caution. His opinion was, therefore, that as the Moghuls were "troops that could be relied upon, it would be proper that a "body of three or four thousand of them should be ordered to "advance a little before the Vezir's elephant, but on foot, and "with their muskets and wall-pieces ready, in order to have a "body of Musketeers at hand, should the enemy make a shew "of some ambuscade.*" My noble father was yet speaking, when he was interrupted by Ismäil-beg-qhan, who tired of the length of the advice, said that to-morrow he would seize Ahmed-qhan's wife and children, and bring them fast in a corner of his bow. To this my father said not a word. The next day, at day-break, the Vezir after performing his prayers, ordered his

The Vezir, attacks the Rohillas.

cannon to march in front and upon the wings, and having ranged his troops in the best order, he advanced with a slow pace. At about nine o'clock, the engagement commenced, by a discharge of cannon and muskets on both sides, and it continued for sometime in the same manner. Afterwards, Radjah S8r8dy-mull, the Djatt, who commanded at the right wing, and Ismäil-beg-qhan, who commanded at the left, advanced on a gallop, and charged so vigorously R8stem-qhan and some other Afghan Commanders, that they drew everywhere smoke from their breasts. Pursuing their point, they covered the ground with six or seven thousand of the best men amongst the Afghan horse. The rest retired reluctantly, but being vigorously pursued they fled at last, and dispersed. At this very time Radja Ber-chunder-mehender, who had outmarched both the Djatt Prince and Ismäil-beg-qhan, proved to be separated from his main, and out of the Vezir's sight; and that Minister being occupied in perpetually sending to those two Generals, cannon, rockets and ammunition, had so thinned his own front, that it remained unfurnished with those necessaries, and nearly empty of troops. The sun was inclining to the west, and the army seemed parted asunder. The Minister no sooner observed this disorder, and no sooner saw that the Gentoo Prince was already out of sight, than he recollected what my father had told him, and he was casting his eyes about to discover something like an ambuscade, when at once Ahmed-qhan, with a choice body of Afghan horse, suddenly made his appearance, and the engagement, which seemed at an end, re-commenced with fury. Unluckily it happened, whether by a particular interposition of the Divine Providence or otherwise, that Camcar-qhan, the Fodjar of the suburbs of the Capital, who was nearest to the Vezir's body of troops, unable to stand the violent fire of musketry and rockets incessantly poured by a body of Afghan foot that now made their appearance, had turned about and fled. It is even reported that he was actually in concert with Ahmed-qhan-bangash, and that his flight was premeditated. Be it as it will, the Moghuls of the two wings finding themselves almost left alone, lost their wonted firmness, and this being observed by the Vezir, he immediately dispatched to their assistance both Mahmed-aaly-qhan, the Colonel, and Noor-el-hassen-qhan the Belgramite, with their

troops. But there was such a quantity of loose elephants, and loose horses on the field of battle, that the passage seemed blocked up everywhere. Noor-el-hassen-qhan, however, opened his way through them, as did a little after, Abdol-neby, one of Mahmed-aaly-qhan's slaves. This last troop amounted to about four hundred horse, and these two bodies cutting their way both through the loose horses and through the enemy, reached the Vezir's troops, which were divided from their main. But as the Moghuls were already flying, the arrival of so brave a body proved of no avail, and these two officers, obliged to turn about, endeavoured to join the left wing. As they were advancing, they discovered behind them a body of two or three thousand foot, supported by a body of cavalry which were coming from the left, but which by their long faces and long beards seemed evidently to be enemies(215). By this time most of the artillery had been sent to the support of the advanced troops, so that no firing was heard there from any cannon that might support those two brave bodies. For all that they cut their way back, and joined their friends, when facing about, they made a general discharge upon their pursuers, and stretched numbers of them upon the ground; but here too this succour proved of no avail. The Moghuls were already flying, and although the officers made a stand, their example was not followed by the others The flight had become general in both wings, and few people cared to stand their ground. Amongst those that distinguished themselves eminently, few were regretted so much as Haïder-qhan, brother-in-law to the Vezir. Like a famished lion, he with a small body, threw himself amongst the Afghans, and was observed to kill seven men with his own hand. He was slain at last, and he hastened to enjoy the parterres of tulip in the gardens of Eternity. N8r-el-hassen-qhan was wounded with a musket-ball, as was Mahmed-aaly-qhan. Mir-gh8lam-nebi, the Poet of Belgram, although much wounded, found means to escape; but Mir-azim-eddin-qhan, one of the bravest Séyds of Belgram, followed Haïder-qhan, and hastened with him into the regions of Eternity. And now the danger came close to the Vezir's person, The Afghans surrounded his elephant, without knowing who it was.

(215) The Moghuls have round faces, and short beards; the Hindostanies, oval, beautiful faces, and smooth chins.

The driver fell down dead. Mirza-aaly-naky, tutor to Shudjah-ed-dŏwlah, the Vezir's son, was struck by a musket-ball, as he was sitting behind the Vezir, and fell. The Vezir himself received a ball in his throat, and fell in a swoon within the hăodah. Luckily for him, that it was a war-haodah, and barded in brass; so that the Vezir having fallen within, was secured from further wounds, and nothing appeared of him but his head. Nor was his falling into a swoon of small use to save his life. The Afghans seeing the hăodah empty, with only one dead man in it, left it and went forwards, where they met Issac-qhan. The latter cried aloud that he was the Vezir. He was well mounted, and at the head of a body that stuck close to him, charging his pursuers sabre in hand, and he made them give way, after which he retired slowly and with firmness. The whole army was retreating by this time, and all the Moghuls had lost their honour and character, when Noorel-hassen-qhan and Mahmed-aaly-qhan seeing the Vezir's elephant unaccompanied, cut their way to it with a few followers, and found that the Vezir had recovered from his swoon. The Minister on recovering his senses, ordered the music to play in token of victory, to try whether such a stratagem would not recall the troops; but it answered no purpose. Finding that a panic had seized them all, he turned his elephant about, without having any one round his person save those two officers, and two or three hundred Moghuls and Hindostanies. After the Vezir's retreat, my father, who followed at a distance, seeing the field of battle empty, stopped to bring up some cannon that seemed in tolerable order; and having exerted himself in calling together the dispersed people of the artillery, he arrived at night near the Vezir's quarters, none having remained in that field of battle so long as himself; and it was midnight before he reached the Vezir's tent. The latter having ordered Noor-el-hassen-qhan to enquire after some medicines for his wound, was in a little time served; but it became necessary to make use of some fire. In the morning the Vezir quitted Marher, where he had passed the night, and marched forwards without hardly any baggage or any of the sutlers and other followers of the army. The ungrateful Moghuls after having fled from the enemy, had attacked their friends, and plundered most of those useful people; the rest had been set upon by the peasants, and

The Vezir defeated and wounded.

made away with. Still on his departure from Marher, he found himself at the head of something like an army, and he continued his journey until he arrived upon the banks of the Djumnah, over against old Delhi, which is commonly called Shah-djehan-abad, and where we shall leave him to see what use the Afghans made of their victory.

Ahmed-qhan, after this victory over the Vezir, fancied himself able to conquer the two Provinces of A8d and Ilah-bad, which might have been said to be that Minister's appanage. He sent his son, Mahmood-qhan, with a body of troops to the conquest of A8d, whilst himself undertook to take the castle of Ilah-abad from Baca-ollah-qhan, and Aaly-c8ly-qhan, the Daghistany(216). Baca-ollah-qhan is son of Merhamet-aaly-qhan, brother to the late Emir-qhan, who had presented him with the Fodjdary of Corrah, in the Viceroyalty of Ilah-abad. After his uncle's death, he had accepted the Vezir's invitation, and had attached himself to his person. He was then at Ilah-abad with Aaly-c8ly-qhan, a dependant of Séyd-mahmed-qhan, the Deputy Governor, and an ancient servant of Emir-qhan's house. These two officers thinking it dishonorable to submit to a Bangash, quitted the city where they had too few men to be able to make any defence, and shut themselves up in the castle, which they both resolved to defend to the last extremity. They threw a bridge of boats over the Djumnah, under the walls of the fort, and thereby prepared themselves for receiving succours and provisions.

The Afghans besiege and plunder Ilah-abad.

There happened to be then on the shores of the Ganga, and quite close to the castle of Ilah-abad(217), a certain

(216) Daghistan is a little mountainous Province of Iran or Persia, inhabited by Sunni-Turks or Tatars. It is so called from Dagh, which signifies mountain, in the Turkish language.

(217) Ilah-abad, called by the Gentoos Prag and Priag, is a famous place for Gentoo worship. There is a subterraneous chapel, where they shew a fallen tree that is in vegetation ever since Maha-De8 or the Grand Saint, that is, the first man who travelled thither from Cassi or the terrestrial Paradise, that is, Banares. We have seen the stump of the tree, and at the first sight found it to be a Djigul, a tree which never dries, and the trunk of which although cut into ever so many chips, never fails to produce a tree, if planted. By counting our paces in and out of the cavern, we found that the tree cannot be at forty paces distance from the Ganges, with which probably it has a subterraneous communication. The visiting that chapel, as well as the subsequent purification in the Ganges produce a great revenue to Government. This tree and chapel are in the castle, much nearer the Ganges than to the Djumnah.

Saniassi-fakir, very brave and well accompanied, who spent his time in his devotions to Maha-de8. This man shocked to see the ravages committed by the Afghans, he had, without any invitation, resolved to join his cause to that of Baca-ollah-qhan, and of the others, that were saut up in the castle; but although he was requested to come within its walls, he constantly refused it, and contented himself with encamping with his brave slave-boys and his people at a small distance from it. Every day he used to set out with the bravest of his people, all mounted on excellent mares, and to gallop about the Afghan camp, from whence he never returned without having killed several of the bravest of the enemy, and brought away both their arms and horses with him; so long as the siege lasted he did not miss a single day, and always did some execution. The siege drew to a great length, but without the enemy being able to make any impression; Baca-ollah-qhan with his garrison, and the brave Fakyr Radj Ender-gur with his brave troop, being resolved to make the most obstinate defence. But meanwhile the enemy's troops, all composed of unbridled savage Afghans, and of sanguinary Rohillahs, fell upon the city of Ilah-abad, which was a large wealthy place, and set it on fire, after having plundered and sacked it leisurely. Four thousand matrons of the best Séyd and Sheriff(218) houses of that unfortunate city, were led unveiled about the streets, and carried into captivity. But the quarter round the Monument of Sheh-afzol was spread, together with the suburb of Qhold-abad, which is wholly inhabited by Afghans. This was all that was performed by the Rohillah army; and but few of the Bangash collectors had been admitted over the flat country, when news came that the Vezir was coming. Ahmed-qhan not pleased with this intelligence, quitted the siege, and repaired to his own country about Ferokh-abad.

We have already observed that on that General's coming to Ilah-abad he had dispatched his son, Mahmood-qhan, with a body of troops, to conquer the country about Aood and Lucknow. The latter marched forwards, and on the nineteenth of the

(218) The Séyds are those that descend from Hassen and Hossein, the Prophet's grandsons by Aaly; but a Séyd is he that has a Seyd for a father, whatever be his mother. A Sheriff is he that has a Séydany for his mother, whatever be his father; at least it is so in India.

second Djemady in the year 1164, he encamped at a small distance to the west of the town of Belgram. Some Afghan troops immediately, according to the savage custom of that race of men, advanced on the suburbs, plundered some houses, and killed some people. But no sooner did such a violence become public, than the inhabitants of the town who are mostly of Sheriff blood as well as soldiers of old standing, shocked at this disorder, fell upon the Afghans, repulsed them with slaughter, and brought home a couple of hundred heads of cattle from the outskirts of the Afghan army. On seeing this Mahmood-qhan, with a precipitation consonant to his age, and an inconsiderateness worthy of his nation, put his army under arms, and resolved to take the town. But this was not so easy; the inhabitants had cut trenches across their streets, fortified every quarter, and prepared themselves to give them a warm reception. In this crisis the Magistrates, and the principal men amongst them, some of whom had an acquaintance with the young General's father, interposed their mediation, and procured an accommodation, after which the tumult that had risen to a height, subsided at once. Mahmood-qhan having raised his camp and advanced as far as Papa-mow, sent towards Lucknow one of his uncles with about twenty thousand horse and foot; and this General advanced towards that city with about five thousand cavalry. He encamped in the outskirts, and sent a Cutwal to command in his name in the city. It must be observed that this city had been evacuated by all the dependants of the Vezir, on the first intelligence of their master's defeat, and that they had carried away the Vezir's family, and joined Baca-ollah-qhan upon the road, with whom they had retired in the castle of Ilah-abad. As to the Moghuls, every one of them, inhabitants of the city, had fled to some shelter, after having placed his property under the safeguard of Sheh-müez-eddin-qhan, a famous Commander, of whom we have said something in speaking of his heroical friend, Kootoob-eddin-mahmed-qhan. The Sheh's friends were not pleased with the protection he afforded in his house and quarter to Moghul property, and they warned him that it would bring down upon him an inquiry from the Afghan Government. The Sheh would not listen to such pusillanimous counsels, and continued to afford an

The Afghans spread into Aud but are repulsed by the inhabitants of Belgram, and Lucknow.

asylum to the families and properties of as many as chose to take shelter in his house and quarter. But as the new Cutwal had already commenced to oppress people, the Sheh who was sensible of this, thought it best to comply so far with the complexion of the times, as to go out of the city and make a visit to the Afghan Commander, in order to put a stop to the Cutwal's vexatious government. The Afghan received him with great regard and civility, and ordered that a general safety of person and property should be proclaimed all over the city. Whilst he was yet speaking, one of the General's friends, a man who wished for some tumult and confusion, said to him, *What are you doing now? The Lucnovians have beaten your Cutwal, and driven him away.* Sheh-müez-eddin-qhan answered immediately, that there was no man in the city mad enough to commit such an outrage. *I will go to town immediately,* said he, *and if I find that any one has committed an insolence, rest assured, that I will chastise him as he deserves.* On this, he mounted and returned to the city; but he soon had several reasons for altering his mind. He reflected that the Cutwal continued to oppress people, and that little trust was to be reposed in the promises or proclamations of an Afghan. Seeing then how matters went, he assembled the nobles and the principal inhabitants, and represented to them, that the Afghans were known for a faithless race, on whose promises no reliance could be reposed with any safety; that to surrender to such savage people would bring woeful consequences with it, and that for his part he saw no other party, but that of joining together, putting themselves upon their defeace, and giving the Afghans a vigorous reception. Most of those present expressed their fears, and declined the association; but the others, sensible of the truth of what he had said, closed with his opinion, and armed themselves. Coorban-aaly, the Choudry (219), a man of consequence amongst them, took care to gain to his party even those

(219) A Choudry is a small Zemindar or land-holder, and likewise the head of a clan or quarter, or set of men.—There is a large quarter at Lucknow wholly inhabited by Sheh-zadians, that is, men of Arabian blood, or men of Gentoo origin, but long ago turned Mussulmen. The Gentoos in general get themselves circumcised on a Friday, and from thenceforward are called Shehs. The Sheh-zadians of Lucknow are Mohametans these several hundreds of years, but still preserve that spirit of clan so remarkable in Gentoos. They are brave and united, and all Sunnis.

that seemed timorous, and he fortified several quarters. On observing so much warmth, Sheh-müez-eddin-qhan took a decisive part. He sold the jewels and plate of his family, and having made up a sum of money, he assembled the Sheh-zadians of Lucknow, whom he now exhorted to chastise the Cutwal vigorously, and to turn him out of the city. The order was immediately executed. The Sheh, after this, dressed a sensible Moghul in Iranian apparel, made him land in his house, as if he had come as Cutwal by the Vezir's appointment, and he proclaimed, at the tribunal of Police all over the town, that no authority should be acknowledged in the city, but that of the cutwal sent by the Vezir. He at the same time set up a green standard in the name of "The Lord of the Time"(220), and under it he took the oaths of the principal inhabitants, that they would stand by each other in defence of their wives, children, and properties, to the utmost of their power. The Afghan General hearing of this change of affairs, and that a Cutwal had come from the Vezir, put his people under arms, prepared himself to sack the city, and he fell upon Ismaïl-gundj, the eastern quarter of it. But about two hundred of the Sheh-zadians having run to the assistance of the inhabitants, an engagement ensued, in which the Afghans were driven away with great slaughter; nay the inhabitants sallied out upon them, took their cannon and tents, and drove away another Commander, who with a thousand horse had come over to share the expected plunder. Mahmed-qhan, who was encamped on the ferry of Papa-mow, hearing of this affair, wanted to march in person against Lucknow. But Sheh-müez-eddin-qhan having sent him a message, that laid the whole blame of this affair upon the stupidity of his Afghans, and promised to come in person to give an account of it, and to address him upon other matters, he altered his resolution, and returned to his former encampment, where he was pitching his tents, when the runaways came in shoals and gave

(220) According to the Mussulmen Shyahs, the Lord of the Times is their twelfth Imam or Pontiff, Mehdi, who is not come yet, but will surely conquer all the world; which will then embrace the true religion, that is the Shyisme. He lived about thirty years, but finding himself obnoxious to the then reigning Qhalif, he disappeared, but is still living, although invisible, and will appear again at the end of the world to conquer all mankind, and to convert it to the true sect, that is, to the Imamisme, and of course to their own sect.

an exaggerated account of Müez-eddin-qhan's bravery and conduct, as well as of the ferocity and courage of the inhabitants of Lucknow, especially the Sheh-zadians. In a few days, Müez-eddin himself arrived near the Afghan camp, and with such a multitude of horse and foot, as looked very much like an army. Mahmed-qhan, intimidated by his character for prowess and conduct, and not liking his appearance, thought proper to decamp, and retire. This retreat inspired the Sheh with so much confidence, that he turned away all the collectors which the Afghans had spread all over the country, and he published an order to put to death immediately any armed Afghan that should be discovered; and this revolution in the A8d naturally brings us back to the Vezir, who had made an appanage of that country.

We have left the Vezir at the ford of the Djumna. But some time before his arrival at this passage, the report of his defeat had spread everywhere, and had roused all those that were jealous of his power, and fearful of his growing influence. The imbecile Emperor was of this number, as well as his intriguing mother, and all the Grandees of the Court, and above all, the Eunuch, now styled the valiant Navvab(221), who after taking possession of the Emperor's mind, had now come forward with intention to govern the Empire, and acted already as a Prime Minister. All these had given tokens of their ill will, and they talked of seizing on the Vezir's Palace, and of confiscating the vast property supposed to be in it. Nevertheless, such was the idea they had conceived of his power and resolution, that they durst not put their design in execution, but waited until they should receive certain intelligence about his person. Hearing now that he was alive, and at hand, they waited his coming into the city, anxious to see what figure he would cut after his defeat. That Minister came at last, and it was soon seen by every one of them, that he would still prove a tough piece of work, and much above their strength. For even his consort(222), a daughter of Saadet-qhan, and a woman of uncommon genius and courage, far from being dismayed by the

(221) Navvab-Bahadyr was his title.

(222) This is Asuff-ed-dôwlah's grand-mother, aged about one hundred years, and living at Aood upon some greens and four ounces of rice a day, in 1787; and this has been her diet these thirty years past.

reports of the Vezir's defeat and death, had exhorted her son, Shudja-ed-döwlah, and her dependants, and son-in-law, to act with firmness, and to repel force by force; and she had made a provision of troops, and of every thing necessary for a vigorous defence(223). The Vezir being arrived, soon heard of the intrigues and designs of his enemies, and he sent word not only to the Eunuch, but also to the Empress-mother, that *Ab8l-mans8r's dead body was still better than another man's living one; and believe me,* added he, *I am a more tough piece of work than you seem to apprehend.* Both these two persons denied their harbouring any unfavourable designs against him, and both accompanied their answers with excuses and with complaints; on which he seemed satisfied, being then engrossed by the thoughts of retrieving his character, and of revenging himself of the Afghans, he was consulting all those whom he thought to have much experience. One of these happened to be my uncle, Séyd-abdool-aaly-qhan, an officer of great character, who having quitted Saadat-qhan's service in Adjmir, was just come from that province. This officer pleased with that firmness conspicuous in the Vezir's character, often frequented his house. The Vezir, who in perusing the dispatches from Adjmir, had heard of his merit, once turned towards him, and asked what he thought of his expedition. Abdol-aaly-qhan answered, "You had a good army, "my Lord, in the last campaign, and can have as numerous one "even now as you please; but victory does not always depend "upon numbers and courage, and it would be proper that you "should provide officers and Commanders that have seen wars "and engagements." *Who are these,* interrupted the Vezir, *pray tell me?* At present, replied Abdol-aaly-qhan, I recollect only Radja-baht-sing and some Marhatta Generals. This advice he seemed to relish, and sending for Radjah Djigul-kishvar, agent from Aaly-verdy-qhan, Viceroy of Bengal, and for his own agent,

(223) The houses of great men at Shah-djehan-abad are all capable of defence. They are all of stone, to the very roof, the beams of which are of wood, although these also are often of stone; and they are surrounded by a lofty wall secured by strong gates, every one of which having its particular small yard, is a stronghold of itself. Moreover, the roofs are flat, capable of bearing cannon, and the walls have battlements and barbacanes. Each house stands by itself, and has wells, ponds, a large garden, and always provisions for three months, and sometimes for six.

Radja Lachmi-narâin, he directed them to bring Holkar-malhar. Meanwhile, Djaba, with his son, Djingoo, two Marhatta Generals of great renown, having made their appearance, he desired them to enter into his service, and assigned to each a suitable pension. Sending likewise for Radja S8r8dj-mull, the Djatt, who was already in his service, he assigned him, for his person and troops, fifteen thousand rupees a day, after having allowed both the Marhatta Generals twenty-five or thirty-five thousand rupees for the same space of time. This done, he turned his attention towards providing a new stock of rockets and ammunition, as well as every requisite for war; insomuch that in a little time he found himself stronger than he had been before. And, in fact, he was so very extraordinary a man, that hardly any one would believe the many resources of his credit and his genius, unless he had been of his confidence; nor has such another man appeared to this day. Any other General, after such a total defeat, would have lost his mind, or fallen into a despondency without ever conceiving the thoughts of arising again, and presenting a threatening front.

In short, this Minister having in a little time pitched upon the beginning of the first Djemady for reviewing his stores, quitted the Capital in the year 1164, and marched to Acbar-abad, which is at seven journeys distant; from whence he detached the Marhatta Generals with their twenty thousand horse, across the Djumnah, against Shah-dil-qhan, who commanded for Ahmed-qhan-bangash in Kevol and Djalissei. The Marhattas having crossed the Djumna with their customary rapidity, fell upon the Afghans like a hurricane. The Governor surprised, fled with all his might, and made his escape; but an infinity of Afghans were put to the sabre, and the Marhattas made a great booty in horses, elephants, camels, tents, and other articles. Ahmed-qhan, who was these four months intent on taking the Castle of Ilah-abad, no sooner heard of Shah-dil-qhan's defeat, than he raised the siege immediately; and putting himself at the head of his best troops, he with the wings of anxiety and perturbation, hastened to Feroh-abad, which was his Capital, and the residence of his family. He was hardly arrived, when the Marhattas, which composed the vanguard of the Vezir's army, followed, and finding the gates shut up, they put every thing to fire and sword in the

territory of that city. These ravages having given Ahmed-qhan time to breathe, he came out and encamped at Husseïn-poor, a town at three cosses from Feroh-abad, and upon the Ganga, where he entrenched himself, as in a post which had such a river under its command, with the whole Rohillah country beyond it, and put it in his power to receive victuals and every kind of assistance from thence. The Marhattas meanwhile finding Feroh-abad empty of military force, rushed into it, and plundered it leisurely; and it was thus that Providence chastised the Afghans in retaliation for the sack of Ilah-abad. The plunder made in that rich mart is past all computation, and is more than I dare say. But it may be easily conjectured from this, that one single lump of precious stuffs was valued at sixteen lacs of rupees. The Marhattas had hardly finished their work, when the Vezir himself arrived with Radja S8r8dj-mull, the Djatt, and surrounded Ahmed-qhan on all sides, the Ganga-side excepted. A cannonade ensued, and an infinity of cannon-balls and musket-bullets were exchanged between the two parties: But as the intrenched Afghans received by boats every kind of provision and assistance, the Vezir directed N8r-el-hassen-qhan, the Belgramite, to assemble a number of boats, and to throw a bridge over the Ganga, intending to send over a body of troops. This work of the bridge was opposed by Mahmood-qhan, son to the Bangash, who was encamped on the other side of the river. Nevertheless it was soon finished; it was at Rampoor, which is at twelve cosses from Cannodje; and a quantity of large cannon and a body of troops crossed over and joined N8r-el-hassen-qhan. Mahmood-qhan, sensible of the consequence of such a communication, made several efforts to ruin the bridge, but to no purpose; his own camp being so much incommoded by continual showers of cannon-ball, that his post was hardly tenable. Two days after the bridge had been finished, a large body of troops had come to the assistance of the intrenched Afghans, under the command of Saad-ollah-qhan, eldest son to the late Rohillah; and this happened at the very time when the Vezir was sending some troops over the Ganga. Ahmed-qhan's courage and hopes having been greatly raised at the sight of so powerful a succour, he quitted his entrenchment, as untenable, and joined Saad-ollah-qhan, after which he gave

The Marhattas surprise and plunder Feroh-abad.

battle to the Vezir; and a bloody one it proved to be. The Marhattas attacked on one side, and on the other S8r8dj-muil, with his Djatts, poured such an incessant fire on the enemy, as drew smoke from their breasts. The Afghans unable to stand so furious an attack, were thrown into disorder; and both Ahmed-qhan and Saad-ollah-qhan, after losing vast numbers of their men, turned about and quitted the field of battle, not thinking themselves safe but at a distance; but it was not without leaving ten or twelve thousand of their best men slain, wounded, or prisoners. A vast booty of elephants, tents, horses, cannon, and furniture fell into the hands of the victors. The Vezir pursuing with ardour, and the Afghans continuing their flight, they both arrived at last at the foot of a chain of hills, separated by a narrow valley from the mountains of Camä8, a difficult country, covered with brushwood and brambles, where the Afghans being hemmed in by their pursuers, necessarily lost vast numbers of people from the badness of the water and the inclemence of the air, but chiefly from the want of victuals and the scarcity of every necessary for sustenance. Meanwhile the enemy overran the whole Rohillah country, and ruined it for years to come. This battle cost Mir-gh8lam-nebi, the famous Belgramite Poet, his life, and he went to join the choruses of the Angels in the boundless regions of eternity.

The rainy season being already set in, and the Marhattas shewing a willingness to abide that season in the Afghan country, the Vezir, in reward for the services they had performed, gave them the whole country from Nevol and Djalisser down to Feroh-abad and Cannodje. Such a donation finished the Afghans. Finding that nothing less than their total ruin was intended, they betook themselves to the humblest supplications; and turning the Marhattas and some other Generals into mediators, they redeemed their lives from the Vezir's resentment. An accommodation took place, such as the Vezir was pleased to dictate. The city of Feroh-abad, with its territory, a tract that yielded a revenue of sixteen lacs a year, was left, out of compassion, to Ahmed-qhan and his family, as descendents of Mahmed-qhan-Rohillah. Some other Districts which had been held in sovereignty by Aaly-mahmed-Rohillah's family, were likewise left them, but under the stipulated promise of a full rent;

and some others were confiscated. But the greatest part of those countries was given up to the Marhattas. The Vezir after this treaty, went to his Government of Abd, and continued advancing as far as Banares, where he had much business to transact; and there as Pertiput, the Zemindar of Partab-gur, a Gentoo Prince of that neighbourhood, who had been in strict connections with the Afghans, ventured to pay him his respects, he was immediately put to death by Aaly-beg-qhan, the Vezir's head Nissiqhchi, who had orders to cut off his head. It is now time to return towards the interior parts of the Empire.

SECTION XVI.

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We have said that the Government of Adjmir had been conferred on the Vezir, as well as that of Acbar-abad, that Minister having expressed a predilection for that of Ilah-abad, which bordered on his hereditary Government of A8d. The Viceroyalties of Acbar-abad and Adjmir were bestowed on Saadat-qhan. It was in the year 1161, answering to the first of Ahmed-shah's reign. This change occasioned some strange events. Radja Baht-sing-Rhator, a Prince who to much merit and great military character, joined so much learning, that he had no equal amongst the Radjpoot Princes, availed himself of that change, to revive his claim upon the Dj8dëyp8r and other territories, that constituted a principality which had been in his family from ancient times, and which was now withheld by Radja Ram-sing, son to Abi-sing, his nephew. With this view he came to Court, complained to the Emperor, and insinuated himself so well in Saadat-qhan's mind, as to render him desirous of going into his Government of Adjmir, where the Gentoo Prince offered an accession of revenue, on condition of his being righted. At the same time he set out for Nagor, the capital of his hereditary dominions, and was followed a few days after, by Saadat-qhan himself, who reckoned on his assistance, and brought with him about fifteen thousand horse, commanded by men of great characters; such as Aaly-rustem-qhan, nephew to Mir-mushreff; Hekim-qhan, called the Qhobushki; Fateh-aaly-qhan alias the Governor of Kevol, who received subsequently the surname of Sabut-djung; Mahmed-shudjah-qhan, and Sëyd-abdol-aaly-qhan. This last was my uncle, who having been, as we have said in the First Volume, banished from the dominions of Bengal, had come to the capital, where Saadat-qhan had desired him to be his friend, and to accept the command of a body of four hundred horse; for he had brought with him his own horses, elephants, and equipage. Saadat-qhan had with

Troubles in Adjmir.

him also, Mir-aaly-asghar-C8bra, of whom we have spoken much in Aaly-verdy-qhan's history; lastly, Mubariz-qhan, with a number of other persons of distinction. He passed the mourning days of the month of Moharrem at Pat8dy, and on the beginning of the year 1163, he arrived at a place called Nimrani, in the Djatt conntry, where Radja S8r8dj-mull had raised a small mud fort, in which he kept a certain number of men. Some of Saadat-qhan's people having picked up a quarrel with those of the fort, drove them away; and it was upon such a mighty success that the new Viceroy ordered his music to play in token of victory; after which getting into his tent, he resolved to halt there. In the morning, as every one expected that he would pursue his intended journey to Narnôul, in Adjmir, where he had ordered his equipage to proceed, the thoughtless Viceroy, who carried a head without brains, countermanded it at once, and abandoning the original scheme upon Adjmir, he turned his views wholly upon settling the Government of Acbar-abad, and quarrelling with S8r8dj-mull the Djatt; nor would he hear of anything else. Aaly-R8stem-qhan, who had two thousand horse of his own, together with Fateh-aaly-qhan, who had seven hundred, were at the head of his vanguard, and had already proceeded on their march, when they were countermanded, and sent for to a Council of War; to which were likewise summoned Hekim-qhan, who commanded the right wing, at the head of two thousand horse; and Mubariz-qhan, who with an equal number, commanded at the left; and also Séyd-abdol-aâly-qhan, and Mir-aaly-Asghar-C8bra, now styled Mumtaz-djung. All these, surprised at this sudden change, were unanimous in their opinions. "They represented that to pick "up a quarrel with the Djatt was improper; but that it would "be very proper to go on with the original project of taking, "first of all, possession of Adjmir, where Abi-sing had offered "his assistance and an addition of revenue, and where he was "already arrived, to make his preparatives. That by pursuing "that scheme, they would put to a trial the quality of their "troops, and would also infuse confidence in them, by such a "successful expedition. That this project being once accomplish-"ed, it would be then time to think of bringing to order the "country of Acbar-abad; and likewise, that here too Baht-sing's

Saadat-qhan marches against the Radjp8ts of Adjmir, and is worsted.

"assistance and advice would prove useful; after which it "would become an easy matter to bring S8r8dj-mull himself "to order." This advice was good, but the ignorant Governor was inflexible, and he immediately sent dromedaries to bring back his baggage; a counter-order which those officers were obliged to comply with, and also to forward to others; but it was noon-day before they would come back. The army was ordered to proceed to Soba-chund's Caravanserah, where the Viceroy passed the night. The next morning, he commanded the men of his equipage to set out with Fateh-aaly-qhan and his corps, and to make a grand forage. The Djatts informed of this, presented themselves in force, and the Radja himself followed with so much expedition that both armies were in sight at noon. By this time Fateh-aaly-qhan had sent word that both forage and grain had been laden in quantities, and were ready; but that bodies of Djatts were making their appearance, and rendering the march of the convoy impracticable, unless some other Commanders were sent to his assistance. R8stem-aaly-qhan was immediately ordered on that service with his corps. But before he could arrive, the greatest part of the day was already spent; so that Hekim-qhan-qhoshbuki, who had been all this while desirous of a quarrel with the Djatts, thinking his honour concerned in this delay, followed him immediately, without being ordered. He had with him as many of his cavalry as were at hand, about seven hundred in all; but by this time there remained no more than two hours of day-light. Hekim-qhan seeing this, sent word to Aaly-r8stem-qhan, that night was coming, and that it would be better to return. The latter answered that Fateh-aaly-qhan was more advanced than him, and that if he could prevail upon him to come back, himself (Aaly-r8stem-qhan) would follow. After having said so much, he galloped up to him, and both joining together went to Fateh-aaly-qhan, to whom they proposed a retreat. The other, becoming prouder by the invitation, answered that they might retreat first, and that he would follow. They represented; they entreated; it did not avail. The two Commanders, seeing his obstinacy, resolved to stay likewise, although the sun was setting, and they sent word to the Viceroy, that the Djatt army was in sight, and so near, as to render a retreat dangerous by night; but that

they proposed to pass it upon the spot, in expectation that he, their General, would march immediately with the army to their relief. Instead of that, the obstinate, ignorant Saadat-qhan sent them word to retreat and come back. They obeyed. It soon became dark; and those men that had been exposed to the heat of the whole day, without either victuals or drink, were hastening to their camp, whilst those that were raw troops and had not yet seen any firing, were endeavouring to distance the others. The cannon, moreover, was ordered to march in front, lest it should be set upon in the dark, and fall into the hands of the enemies. The Djatts observing the confusion in which they marched, followed them, and coming close in small distinct bodies, they commenced an incessant fire upon them, without quitting their horses. On this Aaly-roostem-qhan's elephant growing unruly, Hekim-qhan approached him, and after many efforts and repeated attempts, he at last found means to draw him upon his own elephant. He was hardly seated, and the elephant was rising, when Hekim-qhan received a musket-ball in the throat, and fell dead instantly. Another bullet wounded Aaly-roostem-qhan. The flight now became general. Numbers were slain, and numbers being wounded; the survivors reached Saadat-qhan's camp, which they filled with confusion and fear. The General himself became fearful, and was confounded. And now the advanced troops of the enemy appeared in sight, and setting up a war-cry, they struck up such a panic in Saadat-qhan's breast, that he wanted to get away, and to make his escape, had not Mir-aaly-asgar-c8bra and his other Commanders stopped him with threats, and obliged him to stay by main force, keeping so careful an eye upon him, that he could not move. Luckily that the Djatt Pri nce, having risen only in his own defence, did not choose to abid e the consequence of seizing or killing a Lord of Lords, and that he contented himself whith besieging the camp for two or thre e days together; at the end of which he sent proposals by the canal of Fateh-aaly-qhan, an officer with whom he was acquainted. These having been accepted with a great deal of joy, S8r8dj-mull sent his own son, Radja Djevaher-mull, who paid a respectful visit to Saadat-qhan, and concluded an agreement on several conditions, two of which were, that the dependants of the Lord of Lords should

not cut any Pipol-tree(224), nor offer any insult or injury to the temples of the country, or to any object of their worship and veneration. These and some other conditions being agreed to, Saadat-qhan signed the ignominious treaty. Radja S8r8dj-mull added, that should the Viceroy promise upon oath not to advance farther than Narnöul, he would himself follow the army and be assisting in that expedition, with his person and advice; in which case, he would undertake to bring the Radjpoots of those parts to an accommodation, by which they would oblige themselves to the payment of fifteen lacs, which he would take upon himself.

It was after such a ridiculous campaign, and such an infamous accommodation, that Saadat-qhan quitted the Djatt country to resume his expedition towards Narnöul. He was all the while accompanied by the Radja at the head of his Djatts, who always encamped at two or three cosses distance, in such a manner that messages and agents were continually exchanging on both sides; and in this manner they arrived in the neighbourhood of Narnöul, where Baht-sing came to pay his respects to the Viceroy. On hearing of the shameful treaty, lately concluded with the Djatts, he expressed his surprise and detestation, and proposed to him to recover his honour by marching against the Radjp8ts of Adjmir, that is, by supporting his own projects. This advice having been approved by Saadat-qhan, it gave offence to the Djatt-Prince, who saw how matters went, and took his leave and returned to his own country, leaving Saadat-qhan at liberty to pursue his expedition. That Viceroy being now arrived near Adjmir, marched on rapidly for twenty cosses, and by Baht-sing's advice he took possession of the Gocul-gaut, a difficult passage, which is near the city of Adjmir. But Radja Ram-sing was soon on the other side of the pass. This Prince, better known under the name of Docul-sing, had with him the Radja

(224) The Pipol-tree, is, as well as the Berr, or Burr, the Banian tree, an object of veneration, and the *Deus terminius* of India. Both trees serve for marking boundaries; both are milky, stem and leaves; both drop from their branches tendrils that reach the ground, and become so many new trees supporting the widely extended branches of their parent stock; and both in the original stem look rather like a group of trees soldered together, than like one trunk of a single tree. Both produce a red fruit exactly like a small European-fig, but nearly insipid, and which serves only to fatten green Pigeons, Parrots, and Monkeys.

Assiri-sing, son to Radja Dehiradj-djehi-sing-sevâi, and both were at the head of an army which could not be less than thirty thousand horse, with a numerous artillery, and every necessary requisite for war. So great a superiority did not damp Saadat-qhan's eagerness. This Viceroy, after spending some days at Adjmir in expectation of being joined by Radja Baht-sing, made haste to come out. The first day's march was to Boorigur; the second to the little mud-fort of Shir-sing; the third to Mirta, and the fourth to a place called Pi-bar, in which last march the two armies had a sight of each other. They had set out on both sides with intention to fight, and Baht-sing had informed Saadat-qhan, that it was not proper to part with him or to march on as he did, as the enemy had planted all his cannon on that side. Saadat-qhan, who had never in his whole life listened to any sober advice, was so senseless as to observe, "*That men did not turn* "*about after having once marched in another direction,*" and he went on as he had commenced. Baht-sing, seeing his obstinacy, left him, and marched on, but slanting from the front, where he knew so much cannon to have been planted. The Radjpoots, who had passed the night close to their cannon, seeing Saadat-qhan's troops advance so inconsiderately, kept themselves quiet and in silence, until the enemy had come within reach; when they let fly such a shower of cannon and musket-balls, as did a great deal of execution in the enemy's ranks, where vast numbers were slain. This discharge was but faintly returned by Saadat-qhan's people, who were already in confusion. It was already noon-day; the sun shone with intolerable ardour, and the cannon and muskets became so hot that there was no handling any of them. A cessation of arms, as if by common consent, took place.—Saadat-qhan's men, pressed by thirst, in a country where water is scarce, dispersed everywhere, and numbers approached inadvertently close to the Radjp8ts in search of that refreshment. The Radjp8ts perceiving their distress, by the parchedness of their faces, and the lolling of their tongues, had the generosity to send people to shew them some springs hidden in the sand; and these men, after having refreshed plentifully, both man and horse, would carry them back to the spot where they had taken them up, and would dismiss them with these words: ***Begone, and avaunt! For now we are enemies again.***

Saadat-qhan's troops ready to perish with thirst.

Relieved by the singular generosity of the Radjp8ts.

The sudden cessation on both sides, and the assistance given so timely by the Radjpoots, hath something odd and incredible in it, but they are, however, completely well attested. I put the question to several officers and others that had been relieved in that manner, and amongst others, to Séyd Ismäil-aaly-qhan, son to my uncle, Abd8l-aaly-qhan; and he, as well as the others, always answered in the affirmative. Nor is it but upon such a strong testimony, that I have thought this particular worthy of a place in this history. This behaviour of the Radjpoots does them a deal of honour; but such a generosity is in their character. May God Almighty please to infuse such benevolent inclinations in the hearts of all the nations of the World! For He is the source of all power and all mercifulness.

This spot is not far from the mountains of Dj8déyp8r, not above twenty or thirty cosses distance, or at most three days' journey. Saadat-qhan, desirous to get out of such a critical spot, and unable, moreover, to go on with the expenses of an expedition that produced no resource, at a time too when the rainy season was at hand, resolved to make an accommodation, and to return to Adjmir, and so on to the Capital. In vain did Baht-sing represent, "That this expedition was more important "than anything to be compassed in the Capital. That the "Princes of that country, being the noblest of all the Radjp8ts, "and such as were acknowledged for having reigned in time of "yore all over Hindostan, the bringing them under subjection "would not only greatly redound to his honour, and engage the "other Zemindars to submit of their own accord, but would in "time produce such fruits as would surpass his utmost expect-"ations. In vain did he add, that so soon as the country of "Adjmir should be subdued, his character, enhanced in the eyes "of men by such an expedition, would be greatly conducive "in bringing to terms the Djatt S8r8dj-mull, and in reduc-"ing to controul the country about Acbar-abad." All those reasons produced no change in his mind. And this is the more unaccountable, as Baht-sing had during this whole expedition proved of great service, notwithstanding the junction effected between the Marhattas, commanded by Malhar's son, and the enemy; for he had all along supplied the army with necessaries, and had exhibited much wisdom and a variety of talents, in

occasionally extricating it from its difficulties. Finding th Saadat-qhan was bent on an accommodation, he kept himse at home, without interfering any more. The Marhatta Gener likewise took his leave of Ram-sing, and of Assir-sing's son, an went home. Saadat-qhan having by treaty received three lac of rupees, suffered the rest to be put off in a variety of instal ments, consisting of money and effects, which were to be pai so much at such a place, and so much at another. After thi treaty, he quitted Peïpar, and arrived at Adjmir, at which plac my uncle, Séyd Abdool-aaly-qhan, being sensible of Saadat-qhan's levity and want of understanding, resigned his service, and took his leave. But as he had run himself in debt in a service, which yielded nothing that year but a prospect of preferment, he was obliged to sell his elephants, and some of his furniture, in order to pay his troops and his creditors; after which he returned immediately to Shah-djehan-abad, where hearing that the Vezir was gone on an expedition against the Afghans, he only tarried three days in that Capital, and marched out to join him; and he was already advanced to Kevol, when he met some of the runaways of the Vezir's army. The Vezir himself arrived the next day. Abdool-aaly-qhan having found here an opportunity of paying that Minister his respects, returned with his retinue to the Capital; where on being asked his advice a few days after, he proposed taking into his service Radja Baht-sing, as well as the two Marhatta Generals.

As to Saadat-qhan, after spending one year and some months in that fruitless expedition, he arrived at the Capital in the beginning of the year 1164; and as he had lost his character in that expedition, where he had carried little money and numerous troops, he was, on his return, perpetually reproached and insulted by those people, who insisted upon being paid their arrears. Becoming contemptible by so many repeated assaults and insults, he had the folly to expect a supply of money from the Emperor; and as he was not heard, he had the imprudence to mention the Emperor's name, as well as that of Djavid-qhan, his favourite, in terms of disrespect; making so little secret of his sentiments when at home, that they became the constant topic of his conversation. Not satisfied even with that, he in a fit of passion, resolved to go to Court and to get himself righted,

happen what it would. He mounted his horse, and taking his spear in his hand, he got within the Palace, and attempted to go as far as the Emperor, to whom he intended to represent his grievances in an angry tone of voice. Djavid-qhan, the Superintendent of the Hall of Audience, seeing in what plight he was, requested him not to appear in the Emperor's presence. The other finding himself obstructed, vented his resentment both against His Majesty and the eunuch, in such terms as came uppermost, and after that, he returned home; but he was hardly landed, when a body of soldiers came to confiscate his property. And thus from the summit of honour and affluence, he fell in a little time into the greatest contempt and distress. His title of "Lord of Lords" was bestowed on Ghazi-eddin-qhan, eldest son to the late Nizam el-mulk, who received the Qhylaat of it the next day; and Saadat-qhan, deprived of everything, went to live in obscurity and oblivion. It is time for us now to resume the narrative about the affairs of Decan.

Saadat-qhan returns to Court in disgrace, and is dismissed the service.

Nassyr-djung-nasr-ed-dōwlah, second son and successor of Nizam-el-mulk, was a young man of talents, of much natural genius, and much bravery. To his capacity for government, he joined a cultivated understanding, being fond of poetry, and often composing himself; and although raised so young to the pinnacle of power, he early exhibited a number of good qualities. He even commanded as his father's Deputy, when the latter died of a looseness. As soon as he had assumed the administration in his own name, he marched against the Marhattas, and beat them so often, that he taught them to fear his person and to respect his dominions, as we shall soon explain in the following sheets. The dread of his power and his valour had so far taken possession of their hearts, that they did not dare to move out of their own country, during his lifetime; nor have we any instance of their having been kept in awe by any one so much as by him. Having been commanded to the presence by the Emperor Ahmed-shah, in the year 1162, he had advanced as far as the Nerbedda at the head of a numerous cavalry, when a counter-order came, with which he complied the more willingly, as his cousin, Hedaïet-muhi-eddin-qhan, was pretending to independence. He therefore turned about, and marched against him with seventy thousand good horse, and one lac of infantry.

Nassyr-ed-dōwlah *alias* Nasr-djung overawes the Marhattas by the firmness of his Government.

Muhi-eddin-qhan, surnamed Muzafer-djung, or the "Victorious "in War," descended from Saad-ollah-qhan, Vezir to Shah-djehan, and was son of a daughter of Nizam-el-mulk, in whose lifetime he had enjoyed the Viceroyalty of Bidjapoor for several years together. But as soon as his uncle was dead, and he heard that his successor, Nasr-djung, had advanced as far as the Nerbedda with the flower of his troops, he availed himself of the opportunity to assume independence. With this view, he attached to himself Husseïn-dost-qhan *alias* Chenda-sahab, a man of importance in the Carnatic, whose family cut a principal figure in the city of Arcat, and the latter exhorted him to render himself master of that province. This country was these many years governed by Anver-eddin-qhan, surnamed Shahamet-djung, or the "Valiant in War," a native of Gopamā8, who had been appointed to the office of Nazem, or Military Governor, by Nizam-el-mulk himself. Hedaïet-muhi-eddin-qhan having assembled a mighty army from the French of P8lcherry(225), with whom Chenda-sahab had made a treaty, attacked Anver-eddin-qhan, and after a battle in which this Governor exerted himself like a brave man, defeated him intirely. It was on the sixteenth of Shaaban in the year 1162. Nasyr-djung, who was then at Aorengabad, hearing of this event, resolved to chastise his cousin, and although that Capital is at no less than five hundred measured cosses(226) from the sea-coast, on which is seated the town of P8lcherry, he hastened thither on the wings of expedition and resentment; and so early as the sixth of the second Rebi, in the year 1163, he engaged Hedaïet-muhi-eddin-qhan, and totally defeated him. The victory was at first disputed, but the zephyr of Divine assistance was at last pleased to blow upon Nassyr-djung's drooping standards. Hedaïet-muhi-eddin-qhan was taken prisoner, and the victorious Prince, finding that the rainy season was at hand, took up his winter-quarters at Arcat. He had in his army a body of Afghans settled in the Carnatic, and commanded by Himmet-qhan, and some other officers of that

Marches against the French of P8lcherry, and is slain by a conspiracy.

(225) This mighty army from P8lcherry consisted in seven hundred French, and about two thousand Sepahis, which, compared to the English Sepahis of these days, both in stature, arms, and discipline, were but a rabble. There seems to be some words wanting in the text; for the revolted had a numerous army of their own, besides their French.

(226) A measured cosse is more than two English miles.

nation. Those ungrateful wretches, forgetful of the favours conferred upon them by both the father and son, and unmindful of the gratitude and attachment they owed him in return, conceived the design of stripping their Lord both of his treasures and dominions; and joining with the Prince's prisoner, and the French of P8lcherry, they, on the seventeenth of Moharrem, according to Astronomical computation, and the sixteenth, according to the vulgar one, fell on that Prince's quarters at midnight, and filled them with confusion and disorder. Himmet-qhan, who had always professed himself his zealous servant, having advanced to him with a musket in his hand, fired at his breast, and laying him at his feet, he sent that mighty Prince to the Regions of Nothingness. It was in the year 1164 of the Hedjrah. After this, the camp was nothing but a scene of confusion and dismay and mistrust; but some of those personally attached to that unfortunate Prince, took up his body, and carried it to Aoreng-abad, where they buried it in the Garden of Saint Burnan-eddin, the Arabian, close to the tomb of his father, Nizam-el-mulk. The Poet Mir-ghoolam-aaly, the Belgramite, who had lived upon terms of friendship and intimacy with him, and had enjoyed great offices in his Court, had drawn his chronogram in these verses:

"The illustrious Navvab, that great lover of justice, is gone.
"The sword of destiny did not give him time to display his great talents—he
"went away so soon;
"He was martyred the seventeenth of Moharrem,
"And the afflicted Poet has discovered his chronogram in these words:—
"The sun is gone, raise your lamentations and weep(227)!"

The Hand that wrote the events of Nassyr-djung's life in Heaven, having so suddenly closed its book, Hedaiet-muhi-eddin-qhan, from being kept a close prisoner, assumed the ensigns of Royalty, and displayed the standard of command and dominion. Taking with him a body of French, and the ungrateful Afghans, he set out from P8lcherry for Haïder-abad. But the Supreme Avenger had already sown the seeds of retribution for the murder of Nassyr-djung, and they had taken so deep a root, that both the new Prince and the Afghans harboured already

Is succeeded by his cousin, Hedaiet-muhi-eddin-qhan.

(227) This is an allusion to the custom of India, where lamentations always cease at sun-set, to begin again at day-break.

the utmost distrust and resentment(228) against each other. The former had even taken measures with the French for destroying the Afghans, and especially Himmet-qhan, the Carnatican; so that on the seventeenth of the first Rebi, exactly two months after Nassyr-djung's murder, at a time when the army was encamped at Lacra-pilly, and seemed to have hidden the whole earth under the immense extent of its tents, the new Prince suddenly mounted his elephant with an intention to attack the Afghans, and to make an end of them. Himmet-qhan, who was upon his guard, advanced to meet him at the head of a numerous body of his own countrymen, and it happened that, by a particular disposition of a watchful Providence which sought to avenge Nassyr-djung's murder, both the perpetrators, that is, Himmet-qhan and Hedaïet-muhi-eddin-qhan, were slain in the engagement. Hedaïet-muhi-eddin-qhan is the first in India who sought assistance from Nazareans(229), and who by introducing those strangers into his dominions ruined his own family. There was then in the army a certain Ramdass, a black Brahman of Sicacol, who had enjoyed a small pay in some of Nassyr-djung's offices, and this man, who had the merit of having successfully intrigued with the French, and procured the death of Nassyr-djung, had been taken into favour by the new Prince, and made a Prime Minister, and honoured with the surname of Radja Ragonat-dass. This man came now to cut an important figure. As to Hedaiet-muhi-eddin-qhan, he was fond of study and knowledge, and was versed in books; but he made a parade of his learning, and his friends have praised him too much. During that two days' reign of his, Baladji-räo, the Marhatta, had marched from Poona to Aoreng-abad with a numerous army, which Shah-nevaz-qhan, the Governor of that country, found means to send back by a present of fifteen lacs of rupees.

(228) Part of that resentment was on account of their having plundered the Treasury so effectually, that there remained nothing for the payment of the troops. Insomuch that the Prime Minister, Ramdass, to conceal that penury, filled the chests with bags of copper money.

(229) Christians: this is their name all over the East; nor had they any other for a century and-a-half, although some Antiochians to distinguish themselves from the Hellenist Jews, assumed the name of Christians. But this word was taken up only by those that spoke Greek. Those that spoke Syriac and Hebrew, or Arabic, continued to call themselves Nazareans; nor had they in Arabia, six hundred years after, any other name, nor have they any other to this day.

Hedaïet-muhi-eddin-qhan having lost his life in expiation of Nassyr-djung's murder, and Himmet-qhan with his Afghans, those sworn enemies of Nizam-el-mulk's offspring, having been sent to roam in the desert of Nothingness, Ramdass, who had assumed the office of Deputy-General, and had the French in his party, raised to the throne Séyd Mahmed-qhan, surnamed Selabet-djung, or the "Steadfast in Battles," third son of Nizam-el-mulk. The new Prince immediately, on his accession, attached to his service both Ramdass and the French, with whom he marched to Aoreng-abad, where he passed the rainy season; and on the return of the fair weather, he marched out with an intention to chastise Baladji-rão for his late invasion. With that view he assembled his troops at Ahmed-nagor, from whence he continued his route directly to Poona. Baladji-rão, without suffering him to come so far, met him half-way with an army of fifty thousand horse, but was defeated; at which time the French with their quick musketry and their expeditious artillery drew smoke from the Marhatta breasts. Selabet-djung, after that victory, ruined and devastated the whole country as far as Poona, where a greater engagement took place on the beginning of the year 1765. It was in Moharrem, in which whole month the moon had remained eclipsed; and the Marhattas, together with their General, having been endlessly busy in performing the religious duties enjoined on such a particular phenomenon, they were set upon in the night with so much success, that they lost a vast number of men, which the French consumed in shoals at the fire-altars of their artillery. Baladji-rão, who was actually busy at his devotions, and naked, had hardly time to throw himself upon an unsaddled mare, on which he saved his life, by flying with all his might. The implements of his worship(230), which were all of gold, fell in the hands of both the Mussulmen and the Nazareans. But notwithstanding this mighty victory, such was the spirit of division that had seized Nizam-el-mulk's family and army, that the victorious Selabet-djung, so far from reaping any fruit from this victory, was himself in imminent danger, and on the point of succumbing.

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(230) A man who has seen in Europe a Cabinet of Roman Antiquities, is very much surprised when he beholds the like pateres like cymbals, libation-vessels, fire-places, and bells, used by the Gentoos in their devotions in India, &c.

As the army, on its return, was marching over the plain of Paleki, on the tenth of the first Djamady of the year 1165, the Prime Minister Ramdass was set upon by some troops, and killed outright(231). Selabet-djung continued his journey to Haïder-abad, from whence he sent for Shah-nevaz-qhan whom he invested with the office of Prime Minister, and of his Lieutenant-General. The new Minister was going to apply to the duties of that important station, when sudden intelligence came that the Prince of Princes, Ghazi-eddin-qhan, having obtained the investiture of all the Soobahdaries of Decan, was coming at the head of a mighty army. On this intelligence, Shah-nevaz-qhan left a Deputy to execute his office, and departed for Kermla, the residence of Djanodji-salhar, a Marhatta Prince of the Barar. The intention of this sudden voyage was to engage that Prince, and likewise Baladji-räo, who had been in connection with the Minister so early as the times of Nizam-el-mulk, to mediate an accommodation between Selabet-djung and his competitor, who had amongst his troops a large body of Marhatta Cavalry commanded by Holkar-malhar. On Shah-nevaz-qhan's departure from Haïder-abad, Semsam-ed-döwlah was invested with the government of that Capital; but Ghazi-eddin-qhan(232) suddenly dying at Aoreng-abad, Holkar-malhar, who had got from him the gift of the whole country of Qhandess, Sunk-mer, and Djalima, obtained from Selabet-djung a confirmation of the grant, and proved the only man that had benefited by those mighty troubles. After this, Shah-nevaz-qhan quitted Kermla, and joined his master who had advanced near Aoreng-abad to fight his brother and rival. There he re-assumed his office of Lieutenant-General, sent back Semsam-ed-döwlah to Haïder-abad, and as the rainy season was approaching, both the Prince and the Minister took up their winter-quarters in that city.

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(231) He was killed by an Afghan Officer, who had asked his arrears in a haughty tone of voice, and on whose face he made as if he spit. The other complained to his countrymen, and the next day they broke upon the Minister in his paleky, where they hacked him to pieces for his having attempted, (being a Gentoo) to spit in the face of a Mussulman.

(232) He was an old impotent man, and his youthful brother, Selabet-djung, intrigued so much with his elder brother's ladies, that they poisoned him, and brought him to a sudden death.

It was in this year 1164, that Radja Assiri-sing, son to Radja Adjet-sing-sevāi, departed this life, and a report spread that he had been poisoned. The Rana of Oodeïpur died at the same time. It is also in this same year that Nassyr-djung, having been attacked by the French in the night, was in the confusion murdered by his ungrateful Afghan soldiers; and this intelligence reaching the Court at the end of the year, his elder brother, Ghazi-eddin-qhan, took mourning for him, and being sent for to Court, was complimented with a Qhylaat to that effect. As he was extremely displeased with the Court, he resolved to assume the Government of the whole Decan, and to make his residence there; but the Ministers insisted upon a present. This affair took up some days, when it was accomplished at last; and the Qhylaat of that mighty Viceroyalty having been bestowed upon him, he departed to take possession, as we have already said.

After having given in this manner some account of the troubles in Decan, let us cast our eyes on those that arose on the affairs of Hindostan. In the year 1165 Ahmed-shah, the Abdaly, came into that country for the fourth time, and marched towards Lahor. But the Viceroy Mir-mann8, *alias* Muāien-el-mulk, being informed of his coming, was beforehand with him, and not only resisted his attacks for four months together, but several times came out and drove him to a distance; insomuch that the Abdaly Prince became sensible that there was no going farther. But jealousy and inner divisions, that bane of all Hindostani affairs, defeated so much resolution and so much good conduct. Adina-beg-qhan, by his eternal treacheries, ruined this brave nobleman also; and Radja C8ramul, his Divan, a man really attached to his master, having been slain, all went to wreck after his death, and Mir-mann8 was overcome, as we are going to explain. The repeated engagements between the two parties had already lasted four months, when Adina-beg-qhan, who intended treason under the mask of friendship, persuaded the Viceroy that it was now time to quit his intrenchment, and to advance in the plain. C8ramul opposed this advice, and was of opinion that they ought to remain as they were three or four days more, after which the Abdali wanting provisions, and already tired of so bloody and so fruitless an expedition, would retire of his own accord. This was the wisest step; but the Viceroy, prompted by his own ardour

and courage, listened to the importunities of Adina-beg-qhan, and coming out of his post he advanced towards the Abdali camp, and in his way stopped at some lofty ground covered with brick-kilns, where he had planted his cannon. But this cannon after one discharge was found to want ammupition, whilst a large number of camels, each loaded with a couple of Zemberecks or Swivels, of one pound-ball, came from the Abdali's side, and by Adina-beg-qhan's advice, opened upon the Hindostanies; the Abdalies at the same time made an attack upon the camp. In this emergency Adina-beg-qhan proposed to call Radja C8ramul with a body of troops from the intrenchment. The latter sent for answer that yesterday he had opposed the Viceroy's going out, and now he was afraid that should he move from his post, the soldiers, on seeing the back of his elephant, would think it a flight, and would possibly follow; an error which would be enough to bring on a defeat. As the Viceroy found himself pressed, repeated orders were sent to C8ramul to come. C8ramul surprised and afflicted at the preciseness of the order, assembled his Commanders, and having recommended to them firmness and resolution, he mounted his elephant, and went towards his master. He had hardly advanced one cosse from camp, when he perceived that those very Commanders, whom he had just been haranguing, were in motion for a flight, with all their troops in the greatest disorder. Straight he returned back, and putting himself at the head of a few troops that made a stand, he repulsed the Abdalies; and he was following them out of the intrenchment, when he was struck by a musket-ball that obliged him to surrender his soul to his Maker. This man was his master's universal agent, and the very soul of the army. On seeing him fall, soldiers and officers took to flight; and the Viceroy having returned to the city, sent the Mufti Abdollah to make an accommodation, in which it was agreed that Mir-mann8 should wait on Ahmed-shah-abdali. This being agreed to, the latter sent Djehan-qhan, an officer of distinction, to bring him to his camp, which commission this officer executed with the utmost deference and respect. The Shah received the Viceroy with the utmost kindness, made use of mild expressions to console him, and having appointed him his Deputy and Lieutenant both in Lahor and M8ltan, he returned towards Cab8l and Candahar,

Mir-mann8 betrayed and defeated.

Is well used by the victors.

two places that had become the Capitals of his dominions, and the places of his residence. From that day those two rich provinces of Pendjab(233) and M8ltan were severed from the Empire of Hindostan, and added to the new monarchy of the Abdalies.

Whilst the Abdaly King was stopped short by Mir-mann8, he sent an Ambassador to the Court of Delhi. It was Calender-qhan. This step having made impression on the Court of Delhi, which became apprehensive that the Abdalies would soon come upon the Capital, the Ministers wrote repeatedly to Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, the Vezir, to take the Marhatta Malhar with him, and to return to Court with the utmost expedition. The Vezir having sent for Malhar, engaged him, under promise of a mighty sum, to make the campaign with him; and he returned with his army, and with that General to the Capital. But meanwhile Djavid-qhan, the eunuch, who now acted as Prime Minister, finding himself supported by a party of treacherous Grandees, all jealous of the fresh accession of glory which the Vezir might gain a second time, made haste to clap up a peace with Calender-qhan; and having granted him all his demands, as well as the cession of Pendjab and M8ltan, he quickly dismissed him from the Capital. The Vezir being arrived after this treaty, was shocked at so shameful a compromise, and at so much precipitation. In his resentment and indignation, he refused to come into the city, and encamped on the other side of the Djumna. He afterwards sent word to the Ministers, that it was at their requests that he had brought the Marhatta Malhar with his whole cavalry, under promise of a mighty sum of money: and now that they had rendered that assistance unnecessary, who was to satisfy the Marhatta's claims? Such a requisition could not but embarrass them; but they were rescued out of their difficulties by a lucky event. Ghazi-eddin-qhan, who had put on his Qhylaat for the Viceroyalty of all the Decan, was stopped short by the Ministers, who previously insisted on a Pishcush or present, which the other wished to avoid. It was at this time that the Vezir sent his message, and put it in the Viceroy's power to avail himself now of the difficulties under which the Court laboured, in order to carry his point. He sent them word that, if they would give him his patents without delay, he would undertake to satisfy

The Court eunuchs submit to an humiliating treaty with the Abdalies.

(233) Pandj-ab, Pente-potamia.

Malhar's demands, and would also take that General with him. The proposal being accepted, he appointed his own son as his Deputy at Court, took Malhar with him, and departed for his new Government.

After this departure, the Vezir entered the city, but took up his abode in his own Palace(234). Here he was greatly discontented, and shocked to see an eunuch, like Djavid-qhan, dictate in all matters of State, and govern the Emperor's mind; and could by no means agree that such a man should have made a peace that dishonoured the Empire, by giving up two important provinces, which had left open a large breach for the enemy's incursions into the heart of Hindostan. He was likewise jealous of the omnipotence of the Empress-mother and of her eunuch, shocked at their meddling with every affair of State, and uneasy at their being both leagued against him.

The Vezir incensed at so shameful a compromise.

Whilst the Vezir was brooding upon his discontent, an event happened which gave offence to all the world. The Emperor prompted by these two persons, had raised one Mia-qhan, a brother of his mother, but an actor by profession, to the military grade of seven thousand horse, and to the surname of Müatekud-edö8ulah, or "Trustworthy of the Empire," and to support the State incumbent upon such high titles, this man had been complimented with a complete household of elephants, horses, &c., together with the late Emir-qhan's Palace, ready furnished, as it was. By this profusion, he brought this man forwards, and made him figure amongst the mightiest Lords of the Empire, although it must be acknowledged that the new Lord was not destitute of good qualities, and did not avail himself of his favour but to oblige and to do good. This promotion, however, was looked upon as an affront to themselves, by all the Grandees of the Empire, and especially by the Vezir, who resolved to rid himself of the umbrage which Djavid-qhan gave him perpetually. This eunuch, who trusted so much to his influence, that he rubbed his forehead against the third heaven, had the imprudence to accept of an entertainment at the Vezir's palace, where Aaly-beg-qhan, the head Nassiqh-chi, alias Shitab-djung,

The Vezir sets his master at defiance.

(234) As Grandmaster of the Artillery, he had the command of the Citadel; and as Superintendent of Gh8al-qhana, or bathing-place, that is, the private apartments, he was obliged to reside in the Citadel, and even within the Palace.

ripped open his belly with a stroke of a poniard, and killed him instantly. This execution which had taken place by the Vezir's order, exasperated the Emperor and his mother, and, in order to ruin such an overbearing Minister, they resolved to join Intyzam-ed-döwlah and all his other enemies.

Whilst the Court seemed convulsed with dissensions and jealousies, Ghazi-eddin-qhan was advancing by long stages to Aoreng-abad, one of the Capitals of Decan, where he made his entry, having with him the Marhatta Malhar, with his whole cavalry. But this man, who knew the difficulties under which his new master laboured, availed himself of his situation to request that the province of Qhandess should be made over to him to insure the payment of his troops; and the Prince, not thinking it proper in the beginning of his expedition to discontent a man at the head of such a force, gave him the patent of it under his hand and seal; and thus that fine province, the extent of which reaches to the very gates of Aoreng-abad, passed at once under the Marhatta dominion on these easy terms. Ghazi-eddin-qhan, soon after this, on the seventeenth day after his arrival at that Capital, died suddenly; so that his army and friends which had followed him from so far, in hopes of bettering their fortunes, having now lost their leader, dispersed of themselves, and none remained but his household servants, who, unwillingly to leave their master's body in a foreign land, took it by turns upon their shoulders, and carried it to Shah-djehan-abad; and in this manner the dominion of all the Decans remained to Selabet-djung.

Ghazi-eddin-qhan the pretender to the Sovereignty of Decan, dies suddenly.

The death of Ghazi-eddin-qhan set young Mir-sheab-eddin, his son, to work. He had been left in the Capital as Deputy to his father in his office of "Lord of Lords." The Emperor thought it enough to continue the young man in the enjoyment of certain surnames and titles that appeared to be hereditary in the family, and accordingly he was called, as well as his father and grandfather, "The Champion of the Law,—The Prop of the "Kingdom,—The Brave Commander, ever Victorious in War." But as all these honours did not imply anything of his having been admitted as successor to his father, in his title and office of Lord of Lords, he went to the Vezir's house, and he so affected both that Minister and his consort with compassion on his orphan

condition, that the Vezir obtained his request from the Emperor. But the ungrateful young Lord forgetting the education he had received in that Minister's house where he had learned several languages, acquired a taste for poetry, and had become a learned man as well as a good soldier, henceforward turned his back on his benefactor; and unmindful of the many obligations he owed to that family, and the constant support he had received from it, he joined Intyzam-ed-dŏwlah, and the Emperor with his mother in the conspiracy of oversetting the Vezir and demolishing his power. Nor was it long before the Minister had information of this conspiracy; for in a few days the Emperor sent him word to desire his leaving to His Majesty the disposal of the artillery and of the bathing-place, that is, the private apartments, and he recommended to him a better discharge of his duty as a Vezir. For the latter, sensible that a breach had now taken place between himself and his master, abstained henceforward from going to Court; and the Emperor intimidated at this, commenced caressing him anew, and he even went to see him; in which visit he excused what had passed, and seemed to have regained his heart. But as the reconciliation on either side went no farther than the lips, and it was evidently defective in truth and sincerity, months after months were spent in fruitless negotiations, to the very beginning of the year 1166, and even the first six months of that year were taken up in negotiations, and likewise in giving birth to some events which we are to mention.

Civil war between the Emperor Ahmed-shah and his Vezir.

The Vezir was at a loss how to act. To levy war against the Emperor seemed both improper and odious, and, on the other hand, he apprehended that the conspiracy aimed at his life, as well as at his power and influence. The truth is, that he had neither that fund of policy, nor that blaze of daringness, requisite for an enterprise of such a high nature; he had not that disregard to scruples, necessary to a man that had conceived such high-flown projects, nor that stiffness of mind that enables him to overlook all obstacles, and to set at nought all considerations; he wanted also a sufficient extent of genius to take an adequate view of the strength of his party, and he had too high an opinion of that of his enemies. In fact, such was the opinion entertained of his power, in the beginning of the troubles, and so inconsiderable appeared in comparison both Intyzam-ed-dŏwlah,

and that child of Mir-sheab-eddin that, had he only opened his mouth, there were many Commanders in his service, who on a single order of his would have gone, seized, and bound those two Lords in their very lodgings; nor had either of them dared to offer the least resistance in such a case. Destiny blinded the Vezir's eyes, and shut up his ears effectually. And the Emperor sensible of his irresolution, wrote him a note at midnight, the purport of which had been agreed to in a Council between those two Lords and the Court eunuchs. It was in the Emperor's own hand. The Emperor having sent for the Deputy-Grandmaster of the artillery, who, as such, had the command of the Citadel of Shah-djehan-abad on the Vezir's part, bid him carry the note himself, and added to it a long message upon several subjects. The foolish man excused himself on the impropriety of quitting his post; but the Emperor insisted, adding that it was for a matter of importance which admitted of no delay. The man had the simplicity to take up the note, and to carry it directly. As soon as he was out of the gate, the Emperor ordered all the gates to be shut up, and admittance to be denied the man for the future. At the same time the garrison placed by the Vezir, and which was all composed of his own troops, was driven out of the Citadel with much ill usage. All the Vezir's friends and officers were likewise forbidden admittance. Moreover, the cannon on one of the towers, which commanded the Vezir's Palace, was turned against it, and every preparative was made for contention and war. The Vezir who conceived that contending with an armed hand against the Emperor would redound to his dishonour, render his person odious, and bring upon him the imputation both of rebellion and ingratitude, submitted to his fate, and only asked leave to repair to his Governments beyond the Djumnah(235); and this being denied, he took his own party, came out of town without leave, encamped at about two or three cosses distance, and resolved to go to his Governments without leave indeed, but, if possible, without battle or bloodshed. This resolution was no sooner known, than his enemies resolved to attack and fight him, and even to have his life.

(235) Ilah-abad and Aood are, with respect to Delhi, both beyond the Djumna.

The Vezir informed of that particular, pitched upon an idiot, whom no body knew, to personate one of the Imperial Princes; and having sent his consort and family to a stronghold of S8r8dj-mull's, he invited that Djatt Prince to come again into his service. The other consented, and taking a body of troops, he came and joined the Vezir, his old friend and master. So decisive a step having convinced the Emperor that there were no measures to be kept with the Vezir, he discharged him from that high office, and conferred it on Intyzam-ed-döwlah, son of the late Camer-eddin-qhan. And as Mir-sheab-eddin, notwithstanding his youth, seemed to be endowed with courage and much penetration, he entrusted him with the care of assembling an army, and fighting the Vezir; he summoned at the same time to his assistance all the Commanders and officers of the environs of the Capital. One of these was Nedjib-qhan the Rohillah, a Commander who already bore a character for courage and daringness, as well as for understanding and conduct. This is the man whom we shall see rise gradually in the sequel, and by dint of merit only, to the high dignity of Emir-ul-umra, or Prince of Princes of Hindostan. All the Zemindars of the neighbourhood, whether of illustrious descent or of new families, like Chita-g8djer and Bel8-qhan; all the Sëyds of Barr; all the noblemen of ancient families who lived retired these many years, for instance, Mahmed-sadyc-qhan, son to Sëif-ollah-qhan, Viceroy of Tatta; all these came and offered their services, or were invited over. Amongst these last was my forgiven father, who after having been preferred by the Vezir to the command of Panip8t, and the other eighteen Districts of the dependence of the Qhalissa-office, had of late fallen under his displeasure, and that of Abdol-medjid-qhan, the Cashmerian, and was kept in confinement for some balances set up against him. The Court system being now so far changed, he was forgiven the above balances, sent for, and introduced to the Emperor, by Hafyz-mohtar-qhan, as a nobleman worthy of his favour. He on his side sent for some of his ancient troops and Commanders, and having assisted them with some money to fit themselves up, he engaged them all in the Imperial service. All these warlike preparations in the middle of the city, and the many engagements that followed, seemed to shake every house in its foundations.

Mir-sheab-eddin, *alias* Umad-el-mulk, is intrusted with the office of pushing the war against the Vezir.

From the beginning of Redjeb, in the year 1166, for full six months together, the streets of the city became the theatre of war and bloodshed. The Vezir's troops, which were commanded mostly by able officers, all old soldiers, jealous of their honour, distinguished themselves on all occasions, and above all others, the famous Ghossäin or Fakyr, Radj-ender-gur, who had of late acquired so much honour at the siege of Ilah-abad, and now had come of his own motion to join the Vezir's cause; this man made nothing of throwing himself amongst the very fire of the Imperial Artillery, and of killing and wounding every day numbers of people upon the very muzzles of their guns. He had but a few bravoes with him, but all as determined and as invulnerable as himself, and so often did he come off unhurt from desperate engagements, that a notion prevailed that he had some piece of witchcraft about his body, or some talisman about his person; and this notion, which took root in people's mind, rendered him still more formidable, when one day he was shot dead by a random musket-ball; and then the prepossession disappeared. It was in such a scene of confusion and blood-shed that Saadat-qhan emerged again from his corner. This man whom we have seen dismissed from his office and dignity of Emir-ul-umrah, and who on that account had conceived an implacable hatred against the Emperor, availed himself of the opportunity to come out again, and to figure upon the theatre of the world. He wrote to the Vezir that he wished to join him, and requested only that a body of troops should march towards the Monument of the Prince of men; and this being complied with, he under pretence of going thither in pilgrimage, joined the Vezir's troops, and went into his camp. This could not be a mighty acquisition to the Vezir, who underwent a loss on the other side; for Mir-sheab-eddin having published at the same time, that whatever trooper had the letter *sin* stamped upon his horse, might come over, and would be received at fifty rupees per month, besides a hundred rupees for his entrance, and this proclamation having been rumoured in the Vezir's camp, almost all those of that description (and they were mostly T8ranians, as well as he that invited them,) deserted, and came over to the Imperialists, to the number of some thousands. Sheab-eddin had even the art to bring religion into the party. He assembled all the Cashmirians and all the Pendjabians who

are all zealous Sunnies, and having set up a standard, as if their religion had been in danger, he published that the Vezir was a Shyiah, and a Rafzy, or blasphemer(236), and he invited all the Mussulmen to join against one that had blasphemed the successors, and waged war against them. He added that this was a sacred war, and that, as such, it conferred the merits of martyrdom on whoever should perish in it. On this publication, thousands and thousands of armed men flocked towards the standard, and nothing was heard but cries of four successors, and four friends; and whoever was met with in the streets, and suspected to be a Shyiah, or even a well-wisher of the Vezir's, was sure of being stripped and beaten; some even were killed. The house of the late Mahmed-issac-qhan, inhabited by his two brothers, Mirza-aaly-qhan and Salar-djung, was plundered and sacked, as was that of Ismaël-beg-qhan, a principal Commander in the Vezir's army, whose house was known to be replenished with precious arms, money, jewels, and rich furniture, to the amount of several corors. In short, no man of character, who was known to be either in the Vezir's army or in his interest, escaped unhurt. The houses of every one of them were plundered and sacked, nor did any part escape devastation but the women's apartment. To punish these excesses, S8r8dj-mull, the Djatt, attacked, by the Vezir's order, that part of the city, called old Delhi, and which is even richer and still more populous than Shah-djehan-abad itself; and he plundered and sacked it so thoroughly, that an infinity of people lost their consorts and children, and were totally ruined, besides numbers that were massacred. A multitude of all sorts had taken refuge in the house and quarter of Shah-bassutt, son and successor to Shah-mahmed-djaafer, on the expectation that his holy character being exceedingly respected, by every one, and by the Vezir amongst others, who lived on terms of friendship and intimacy with him, would prove a safeguard to his house and

Old Delhi plundered by the Vezir's troops, who at last came to a compromise with his master.

(236) The Shyiahs, not satisfied with rejecting the three Lords, whom we have been mentioning some time ago, namely, Ab8-bekr, Omar, and Osman, (although they did really succeed, and carried the Mussulman name from the *Loire* in France to the Ganges in India,) load them with abuse and invectives, although they have been the Prophet's protectors, and had made him their son-in-law. Hence, as aggressors, they are called Blasphemers or Rafadhies, by the Sunnis.—The Emperor of Hindostan, being reputed a successor to those successors, is himself styled a Qhalif.

quarter in the general plunder and massacre: but they were mistaken, and these deluded people underwent the same unhappy fate as the others. No respect, no regard was paid to it,—but let us pass in silence over all those horrors,—for past is what is past.—O God preserve us; preserve all the Imamites from such days as these(237). After six months' slaughter and ruin, both parties became tired of such a life, and both seemed desirous of a peace. The Emperor and his Ministers sent the first message; and the Vezir who was tired of the immense expenses he daily incurred, and who augured no good from all these troubles, gave his consent. Intyzam-ed-dŏwlah served as mediator in the terms of the agreement; and this was, that the two Governments of Ilah-abad and A8d should be left to the Vezir. These terms having been agreed to, the latter in the beginning of the year 1167, set out for those countries, and left the field to Mir-sheab-eddin.

This daring young man had, during the war with the Vezir, called to his assistance from Malva, the Marhatta General Holcar-malhar, under promise of a high pay; but he arrived after the conclusion of the peace. Nevertheless, as the Minister was highly exasperated against the Djatts for their connections with the Vezir, and the assistance they had given him, and as on the other hand, he was fond of remaining in power, he availed himself of the arrival of the Marhatta troops to fall upon the Djatt S8r8dj-mull. The latter who thought himself over-matched in the field, took shelter in certain strong fortresses of his, known under the names of Dig, Comir, and Buhret-poor, where he was immediately beseiged; and as it is impossible to take such fortresses without battering cannon, Mir-sheab-eddin who feared lest matters should draw to a length, sent to the Emperor to request some heavy artillery. The person he sent was Akybet-mahmood-qhan, a Cashmirian, who was everything in that Minister's house, but, however, a wicked dangerous man, New troubles in Delhi.

(237) Had not the author been a most bigotted Shyiah, he would not have spoiled that fine exclamation by restricting that benevolent wish of his to the Imamites only, that is, to the Shyiahs. The text has the word *M8mminin*, which signifies the faithful, and which Shyiahs assume to themselves exclusively to all other Mussulmen. The exclamation, besides its inhuman partiality, is inconsequent; it being the Sunnies who actually had lost their consorts and their lives by the violence of the Shyiahs, whereas the latter had lost only some property by the Sunnies.

seditious and factious to a high degree. This request did not please Intyzam-ed-dŏwlah, the Vezir, who was an honest well-meaning man. He knew that as soon as those fortresses should have been taken, both the master and the envoy would not fail to return to the city, and to avail themselves of their prevalence to torment indiscriminately both friends and foes. He therefore advised the Emperor to refuse the artillery. The Cashmirian apprised of that, formed himself a party amongst the Mansoobdars or Military officers of the Crown, and the people dependent on the artillery; and partly by threats and by promises of plunder, as well as by a variety of other means, he engaged them to join his party in taking Intyzam-ed-dŏwlah out of the way. Having fixed a day for this purpose, he assembled a multitude of people, and made an attack upon that Minister's house; but being repulsed, he quitted the city, and putting himself at the head of several bodies of banditties that joined together, he fell a plundering all those Districts that depended on the Qhalissa-office, at the head of which presided that nobleman, as well as all those in the environs of the Capital which he knew to be held as Djaghirs by the several Lords of the Court.

Whilst he was busied in that manner, S8r8dj-mull, besieged in his fortress, sent up several requests both to the Emperor and to Intyzam-ed-dŏwlah, his Minister, representing, "That if "they suffered Mir-sheab-eddin and his Marhattas to go on with "his schemes, a time would come when he would turn his eyes "upon the throne itself as well as upon the Vezirship, and "would attempt to overturn the Government, so as to new model "it to his own mind. That he therefore submitted it to the "Imperial wisdom, whether in such a state of things, it would "not be proper for His Majesty to come out with his Minister "and army, and under pretence of bringing into order the "Districts of the Imperial demesnes, and, hunting on the way, "to advance as far as Sekenderah, where it would be easy to "send for Abool-mans8r-qhan, a man who in such a case would "not fail to join in crushing Mir-sheab-eddin and the Marhattas."

Mir-sheab-eddin on ill terms with his master.

This advice having been approved by both the Emperor and the Minister, the Monarch set out on a hunting party, and took with him the ladies of his sanctuary, as well as his Ministers, all the Lords of the Court, as well as his army and artillery; in the

course of his hunting he, from plain to plain, advanced as far as three or four cosses beyond Sekenderah. But he was averse from the party of applying to Ab8l-mans8r-qhan; nor was it better relished by either his mother, or the Vezir, Intyzam-ed-dŏwlah, who after Djavid-qhan's death, had leagued with that Empress. In complying with this part of S8r8dj-mull's advice, they seemed to act with dilatoriness and reluctance. All these counsels and this irresolution having been reported to Mir-sheab-eddin, who was exceedingly alert and intent upon his own schemes, he re-called Akybet-mahm8d, and sent him to the Emperor's camp, as if to give him advice that some thousands of disbanded Marhatta horse, having made their appearance in his neighbourhood, had suddenly disappeared without it being known where they would shew themselves again. The envoy having said so much, returned to his master. The slothful Emperor paid no great attention to the message, and the negligent Vezir, whose particular business it was to watch over the army, and to insure the honour of the Imperial household, as well as the safety of the Imperial person, quietly went into his tent, and fell to his afternoon's nap, after having heard the message. But the Marhatta General, Holcar Malhar, was not so sleepy. Highly incensed against the Emperor and his Minister for their denial of some heavy cannon, he had left his son, Ghandi-rāo, to keep the Djatts in awe, and had set out himself with a view to distress the Imperial camp with respect to water and forage, and by that means to find some opportunity to lay hold of the cannon, or at least to strike some good blow; he also wished to have no sharer in this expedition, and to be left to himself. Without giving any intimation of his design to any one, not even to Mir-sheab-eddin, he set out in the beginning of the night, passed the Djumna at the ford of Mahtra, and was close to the Imperial army, before any one knew of his having so much as left his camp; and, first of all, he fired some rockets to feel the pulse of the enemy. At sight of these, it was conclud-ed in the Imperial camp that Mahm8d was burning some village in the environs, and the matter appearing of no consequence, no one concerned himself in examining more narrowly into the matter, when at the latter part of the night, it was found that Holcar himself was at hand. On this intelligence the Emperor

and his Ministers, both equally cowards and unexperienced, lost their presence of mind, and were equally incapable of flying with recollection, or of making a stand. The Emperor with his mother, and Semsam-ed-dŏwlah with the Vezir, got upon their elephants, wrapped and muffled up as if they had been women, and without so much as assembling their officers, or saying a word to any one, they fled with all their might towards the Capital, leaving their consorts, daughters, and families at the disposal of the enemy. It being rumoured, half an hour after, that they were gone, the whole army, officers, and soldiers disbanded, and fled with arms and some baggage as far as Sekenderah. At day-break the Marhattas pursued them thither, and plundered and stripped every one of them, after having already plundered the Imperial camp, with the Imperial tents, and furniture. Malecka-zemani, daughter to Feroh-seyur, and consort to Mahmed-shah, with other Princesses of the Imperial family, as well as a vast number of ladies of the highest distinction, fell into Holcar's hands. That General treated them with the highest respect, and even abstained from touching either their persons or even those jewels with which they were covered, to an immense amount, and this abstinence of his is an indubitable fact; but it is no less certain, that an indelible disgrace befell the honour of the Imperial house of Timur that day; and that those sublime gates, on the threshold of which Kings and Sovereigns, together with all mankind, had been accustomed to rub their foreheads in token of respect, became from henceforward an object of derision, and a standing mark for the kicks of the vilest men. But such are God's dispensations, let us submit to them.

Whilst this scene was acting at Sekendera, Mir-sheab-eddin was still occupied with the blockade; but he no sooner heard of this affair, than he quitted the field, and came to the city, leaving S8r8dj-mull at full liberty to rid himself of the miseries he had been undergoing; for the Marhatta General was by this time gone home, and Djehi-apa, the second General, had set out for Narnol. A few days after this departure, Mir-sheab-eddin had found means to gain over to his party both Semsam-ed-dŏwlah and all the Commanders, and all the ungrateful Colonels that were attached to the service of the Imperial artillery. He then put himself at the head of a body of Hindostanies

and Marhattas, and going to the Vezir Intyzam-ed-döwlah's Palace, he of his own authority dismissed him from his office, which he took for himself, procuring at the same time the office of "Lord of Lords" for his friend, Semsam-ed-döwlah. The next morning he went to the Palace to put on his Qhylaat, and at noon he seized both the Emperor Ahmed-shah and his mother, Oodem-bhäi, whom he ordered to be kept in confinement. It was the tenth Shaaban of the year 1167. Immediately after this, he sent for Aziz-eddin, son to the late Muëz-eddin-djehandar-shah, and having proclaimed him Emperor, under the surname or title of Aalem-ghir sani, or Aalem-ghir the second, he installed him on the throne. Seven days after, he ordered Oodem-bhäi to be blinded, by having a red hot needle drawn across her eyes, and he accused her of being the cause and contriver of all the troubles; he then served the Emperor, her son, in the same manner. Probably none of these direful events had happened, had the Emperor condescended to apply to Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, who was then at hand, although in his Government.

The Minister orders the Emperor and Empress-mother to be blinded.

That Viceroy, on his arrival in what he called his own ground, stopped at Mehdi-ghat, where he built himself a lodging, reviewed and completed his army, and attached himself to its discipline; preparing at the same time all kinds of stores, and seeming to mind nothing but whatever could strengthen and increase his power. He seemed intent on some project, when at once, without any previous ailment, a furuncle was perceived at his foot; and this having soon degenerated into a cancer, which baffled all the art of the physicians and chirurgeons, the evil in a little time rose to a heighth; and on the seventeenth of Zilhidj in the same year, he departed this life, and winged his flight towards the regions of eternity. His body, according to his own desire, was carried to the Monument of the King of Braves(238), and buried there. He was succeeded by his son, Mirza-djelal-eddin-haïdyr, surnamed the Shudjah-ed-döwlah(239). The young Prince continued in the management of the helm that same Ismaïl-beg-qhan, who had been his father's principal General and trustiest Minister, and all the officers, Commanders,

Ab8l-mans8r-qhan dies.

(238) Aaly, called by the Shyahs, *Shah-i-merdan*, is the King of Braves. His tomb is at Cosah, betwixt Basrah and Bagdad.

(239) The Valorous of the Empire.

Governors, and Grandees or Nobles, promoted by his father, remained in possession of the offices and pensions they enjoyed. But in a little time, Ismaïl-beg-qhan likewise departed his life, and Temkin-qhan, an eunuch of his household, succeeded him in his office of Prime Minister. It was at this same time that Saadat-qhan died at A8d-baugla. He is the same man who bore the title of Zolficar-djung also, and had cut so strange a figure in the expedition against Adjmir. But as Shudjah-ed-döwlah cuts so capital a figure in our history, the reader probably may be pleased with hearing some particulars of that Prince's character.

Character and conduct of Shudjah-ed-döwlah.

Shudjah-ed-döwlah in his own temper was slothful, negligent and careless, but so valorous that, with that single quality of his, he found means to contain the Zemindars and the other refractory people with which his dominions abounded; so that his Government was always respected. He was exceedingly fond of the company of women, without being attached to any, and addicted to every kind of pleasure, without exception, save however, that of drinking wine. Nevertheless there appeared no impudence in his character, and no contempt of decorum in his behaviour. He had such an abundent fund of goodness, liberality, and benignity, as made him connive at trespasses against his interest, and rendered him ever ready to forgive the guilty. He governed quietly his dominions for three or four years, when the Abdali-king, at the instigation of Mir-sheab-eddin, now styled Umad-el-mulk, invaded Hindostan, and marched directly to Shah-djehan-abad. This was in the year 1170 That Minister's intention was to join an army of Abdalies to an army of Rohillahs and Bangash Afghans, who being inveterate and sworn enemies of Shudjah-ed-döwlah's father and family, would be glad to embrace any scheme for entirely demolishing and ruining that rising power. This league, however, did not intimidate Shudjah-ed-döwlah. Without being dismayed by the threatened storm, he stood his ground so well that he was left to himself, as we shall relate as soon as we shall have dispatched some matters relative to the Western parts of Hindostan.

We have left Mir-mann8 nearly absolute Viceroy of both M8ltan and Pendjab. He resided at Lahor, where having mounted his horse to take an airing, he went out of the city,

and put his horse on a gallop, when he was suddenly seized by a fit of apoplexy, which ended at once in a palsy that stopped him short; so that all he could do was to continue his voyage into eternity. This event is recounted in a different manner by a person in his service, who was very familiar with him. He says that Mir-mann8 was encamped, and that he took horse to look at the troops of one of his Commanders, encamped within a short distance, where he sat down to a dinner. The entertainment proving sumptuous, and consisting of a great variety of precious dishes, he tasted of every one. In the evening, he got upon his horse to go home, and put it to a gallop; and he was actually galloping when finding something that pained him within, he alighted, stretched himself upon the ground, and in a few moments expired. The Abdali-king hearing of this sudden death, conferred the Government on Mir-m8men, son to the deceased, and as he was yet a child, he recommended him to his mother together with the whole country. It ust be observed that the deceased Governor, keeping always a great army on foot, and being engaged besides in a variety of heavy expenses, which the revenues of the country could not support, he had betaken himself to the expedient of oppressing and squeezing the body of farmers, as well as the people in general. But his credit was so strong at Court, that there was no carrying any complaint against him; and on the other hand, it being a standing rule amongst the Syks to support each other at all events, numbers of people who could find no redress any where, and were driven to so much despair as to cry *famine, famine*, about the streets, very naturally recurred to that fraternity, where they were sure of finding some resource. The whole business of admission seemed to consist in putting on a blue coat, letting the hair grow all over the body, and repairing in shoals to G8r8-Govind. From that moment they became Syks, and were entitled to the protection of the whole body, and looked like men freed from all their miseries. In this manner this sect or fraternity, which was already in vogue, having turned out to be a sure resource against oppression, it grew to an immense number; especially at this time, when the government of a country involved in troubles was to be managed by a woman; and as that sex is destitute of strength of mind, the disorders

The bad administration of the Viceroy of Lahor adds strength to the Syks.

and troubles continued to increase. Her Ministers commonly availed themselves of her retired life and immured circumstances, to render such an account of their respective departments, each in his own way, as served only to perplex and confound her understanding. Hence the tenants and farmers became more oppressed than ever, and shoals of people flocking to the Syks, these people grew exceedingly numerous, and commenced talking high to the Officers of Government. The nobility and principal men of the country, who looked at these desertions with both amazement and disdain, made it a point to stand aloof, whilst the eunuchs, the freed men of the seraglio, and a variety of homely born vile men, took possession of all the affairs. Things were in such a state when the young Mir-m8men departed his life, and then the Government fell into the hands of Qhoadja-m8sa-ohrari, his brother-in-law. But as Becari-qhan, who had acted as Prime Minister under the deceased Viceroy, wanted to render himself master of the Government, and he had been intriguing with that view, the Governess, who was informed of his intentions, and was already incensed against him, commanded his attendance within the seraglio or sanctuary; and as soon as he was within the gate, she got him surrounded by a number of stout women, who put him to the cudgel so severely that he expired under the operation. A short time had elapsed since this event, when Qhoadja-abdollah-qhan, son to Abdolsemed-qhan, that ancient victorious Viceroy of Lahor, having found means to seize and confine the Governess, contrived likewise to obtain from the Abdali-king, the patents of the two Governments. But Feraman-qhan, who had brought those patents to Lahor, having commenced acting with authority, and plundered and ruined numbers of people, the new Viceroy who did not like his presence, and was also teased by the troops, who became clamorous for their arrears, found it was out of his power to satisfy their demands; so that to save his life and honor he fled from Lahor, to the disgrace of all Government. In such a confusion of all order, the Governess found means to re-assume the command, and having been in a little time put under confinement by Qhoadja-mirza-qhan, who had been one of the principal Commanders in her husband's army, the troubles at last subsided, and a compromise took place between her and that officer.

Troubles in M8ltan and Pendjab.

All these troubles and commotions having been faithfully reported to the new Vezir, Mir-Sheab-eddin, now styled Umad-el-mulk, he conceived the design of recovering the provinces of Pendjab and M8ltan from the dependance of the Abdali-king. Without imparting his scheme to any one, he set out with Alemghir, the Emperor of his appointing, and encamped at Badely, at some distance from the city. He intended also to bring to order and to reduce to submission the officers of the corps marked with the letter *sin*, who, availing themselves of the need the Vezir had stood of their service in his disputes with Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, had extorted from his hands all the Districts of the Qhalissah-office, and all the best demesne lands about the city, as a security for their pay and arrears; they had besides assumed airs of importance, and proved unruly and refractory. With this view he sent for my father, and after appointing him Fodjdar of Ser-hend, Taneser, and Pani-poot, with some other districts of the Qhalissah, he advanced to the latter town. As the negotiation for recovering these lands from the officers of the Brigade *Sin*, had been carried on by Kishen-chund, a Gentoo; Radja Nagurmull a Hindoo, who became exceedingly jealous of him, sent for the principal officers, all men highly discontented, and he informed them that Séyd Hedaïet-aaly-qhan, that is, my honoured father, who commanded in the Districts snatched from their hands, was a man of property, from whom, by a proper application to the Vezir, they might easily get an advance of two lacs of rupees upon the rents of those Districts, a sum that would go a great way in discharging their arrears; and that in case he should not consent to that advance, he undertook to find a man that would pay it down, on condition of his being put in possession of those Districts. The officers accustomed this longwhile to speak in an imperious style, and inconsolable at their being deprived of such productive Districts, swore to stand by each other, and the next day they sent their agents to the Vezir with the proposals. Meanwhile, my father, who had been informed of the turn which this affair had taken, and was unwilling to accept the condition, sent his resignation by the channel of the above Kishen-chund, whom he followed soon after to the Vezir's quarters. That Minister, after having passed a couple of hours in giving a public audience, in which he

The new Vezir marches to recover M8ltan.

transacted business with my father, with Seif-eddin-mahmed qhan, with Nedjib-qhan, and with Nagur-mull, and some other was getting up to retire to his private appartments, when h was stopped by the Brigade agents, who by Nagur-mull' management had joined together in informing him that th Brigade *Sin* wanted a large sum of money in part of their arrears The Vezir, without seeming embarrassed, answered that he ha no objections, but that the corps must be reviewed first. Th agents, sensible that no penmen would dare to form difficultie in a day of review, consented, and they only requested tha some M8tsuddies(240) might be appointed to review their corps The Vezir, on hearing these words, turned towards Nedjib-qhan, and directed him to review the Brigade; to which that officer consenting, he immediately sent orders to his son, Zabeta-qhan, to pitch up a tent in an open spot, and to review the Brigade. The agents, surprised, found that the time was come for some great discovery, it being understood that these two officers were not men tobe either tampered with or overawed, being themselves officers of high character, and at the head of several thousand horse. Straight they dispatched a messenger to their constituents, for the pupose of advising them to be upon their guard. The others finding that they would be ruined by such a review, conceived that there was no other expedient for escaping a discovery, than that of exciting a sedition and a mutiny; in consequence, they excited their most ferocious men to take the lead. Meanwhile the Vezir was retired to his private apartments having with him only three or four persons, as Nedjib-qhan, Radja Nagur-mull, and Kishen-chund. A little after, Nedjib-qhan went away. My father waited without, anxious to render his resignation acceptable, and to get rid of so disagreeable an affair; when at once twenty or thirty troopers of the Brigade *Sin* came to the curtain of the private apartment, and exclaimed against their officers, complaining of their being reduced, for want of both arrears and pay, to a starving condition. Soon after, these men were joined by some more; the appearance of which caused the harcaras or messengers at the gate to write a note, and to send it in by an eunuch. The Vezir after having read it, got up in the undress in which he then stood, and was going

(240) M8tsuddies are pen-men in several offices.

out. My father stopped him short, and represented that it was not proper for him to go out. *I shall certainly go,* answered the Vezir; *I want to speak to them and appease the tumult.* My father said nothing, but finding him resolved to go out, he joined him. The Vezir raised the curtain, spoke to them, and informed them, *that they would be paid as soon as their corps should be reviewed.* By this time those troopers had gathered to the amount of two hundred men; and trusting to their numbers, they had surrounded the Vezir, and were speaking insolently to him. My father mixed with the crowd, and represented to them that the man they were insulting, was their resource in a day of need, and their Lord, the person that would hear their complaints if they had but the patience to speak quietly. The remonstrance did not avail. The men had come too well tutored to listen to any reason. One of them having torn away a button of jewel which the Vezir had at his Nima(241); the others, as if by signal, tore away his clothes to pieces, and his turbant fell off at the same time. Bare-headed as he was(242), they drew him on foot along the streets and lanes and carried him to their camp. Meanwhile the Vezir's troops, amazed at what they saw, were at a loss what to do. As the Vezir's last hour was not come yet, the officers of the mutinous Brigade came into the tent, excused what had past, and desired him to put on the clothes which his servants had brought after him. The Vezir incensed, listened, to no advice, and addressing them with all the foul language he could muster, he cried out: "*You rascally pimps,* (and this was his expression) *if you intend to kill me, kill then, and "make haste; for you will certainly be killed yourselves to a "man; else, if you intend no killing, what do you mean by "all this insolence?*" Whilst he was speaking, a message came from the Emperor to the seditious. It was delivered in

(241) The Nima is in itself a Djama or Gown, to all intents and purposes; but as it does not fold as the other, upon the breast, it serves as a waistcoat, and is therefore reputed an undress. Both the Djama and Nima consist only of cotton linen.

(242) An European with his hat under his arm, would stare on being informed, that to be bare-headed is a high disgrace, all over the East, as far as the Ganges. The bankrupts, the day they stop payment, sit bare-headed in their counting houses, with a lamp burning before them at noon-day.

Turkish(243), to this purport: "*Instead of confining the Vezir,* "*you ought to bring him to me: I am the proper person;* "*and if you want only your arrears, I take them upon myself*" The Vezir who, amongst several other languages, understood the Turkish very well, becoming still more angry, broke out in fury, "*No messages, no messages to these rascals; do you, rascals,* "*make haste; go on with what you intend.*" The officers, without minding his language, supplicated him to accept their submission, and to mount an elephant, which was brought for that purpose. The Vezir mounted, when one of these officers, whose name was Hassen-qhan, the Decanian, getting up behind in the Qhavvass(244), took up the fly-driver with one hand, and the sun-screen with the other, and continued waiting on him until the Vezir landed in his lodgings; and so soon as the Vezir had alighted, he likewise alighted from behind, and went away. The Vezir being landed, took his seat upon his Mesned, where crowds came to make their bow. In a Moment, he asked where was Hassen-qhan, and being told he was gone, he sent after him, and got him brought back with his elephant. On his being come, the Vezir got upon the same elephant, and sent a general order throughout the army to kill and plunder the men of the Brigade *Sin,* wherever they might be found. In an instant, those numerous hungry Rohillahs of Nedjib-qhan, who as well as the other troops, waited only for the order, fell upon them, and made them disappear from the camp,—men, horses, tents, and all. The troops continued plundering and massacring the whole night. Some few, who threw themselves instantly upon their naked horses and fled, escaped alive; the rest were all put to the sword. Nor could a single man of them be heard of afterwards.

(243) The Turkish language, which is the language of Government all over Persia, is only a curiosity in Hindostan, where the Persian is the language of Government; nevertheless the Princes of the Timur family make it a point to speak it, as do most of their Ministers. Here, the message being addressed to a Brigade, composed almost intirely of Euzbeg Turks, or Tatars, was with great propriety delivered in the Turkish language.

(244) We have been obliged to coin a couple of words here, in order to translate, without a long circumlocution, two Hindostani expressions. The Hindostani ideas differ so widely from the European nations, that those who would not care to be Archi-cup-bearers to the Emperor of Germany, or give the shift to the King of France, and would think themselves polluted by giving him water to wash his hands with, pride in sitting in the Qhavvass, that is, in mounting behind a coach

As soon as this execution was over, the Vezir who had taken umbrage at the Emperor's supineness on this occasion, returned to the city, where having recruited his troops and stores, and left the Emperor in the hands of some trusty friends of his own, he took with him the Imperial Prince Aaly-goher, (now reigning under the name of Shah-Alem,) and marched towards Lahor, resolved to re-annex those countries to the Empire of Hindostan. This Minister, who was naturally impetuous and fond of dispatch, and had also a knack at sowing troubles and raising disturbances, set out with a numerous army, in which he had taken care to have all the Grandees of the Court, as well as the Prince Aaly-goher, and he seemed to be only hunting by the way, but yet was shortening his distance every day; and meanwhile he had managed in such a manner, as to have gained over to his party the famous Adina-beg-qhan. He was already arrived at Lodiana, within fifty cosses of Lahor, when being thoroughly satisfied with that man's fidelity, he by his advice sent to Lahor a body of troops, under the command of Sëyd Djemil-eddin, who was likewise entrusted with a letter and a message to the Begum, relict of Mir-mann8, his uncle. He requested she might vouchsafe to send him her daughter, a Princess betrothed to him long ago. The Begum, pleased with the request, sent her daughter with great pomp and magnificence, gave her a suitable dowry in jewels and money, and got her accompanied by a full household of eunuchs, tents, and every requisite for a voyage. The Vezir on his side sent his own uncle at the head of a large body of horse, and a cortege of

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or nearly so, and in handling the fly-driver, &c. For the person sitting in the Qhavvas, is always second to him that sits in the fore part of the Haodah; he is his Divan, and the fly-driver, or Moor-chull, is the characteristic insignia of his office; and were the Emperor to come in Bengal, and the English Company, as Divans of that country, to be represented by one man, the Qhavvas and Moor-chul would become the latter's right and duty. The Moor-chull is made in the form of a long broom, composed of Peacock's feathers, artfully put up, and resting in a long handle studded with jewels. The Qhavvass is the third or fourth part of the Haodah, from which it is always parted by a board, and has just room enough to afford a scanty space to one single man, so that the elephants mentioned in the Jew books, and in the Greek histories of the times of Cosro, must have been animals of another breed. The biggest elephant, we have seen in India, (and we have seen some thousands) could not afford room to more than four fighting men, and that too very scantily.

principal officers to receive her at a distance ; and they brought her to camp, where a full household and a proper set of tents had been provided for her reception, and where she was visited by her husband's aunt. The Princess's mother being by this time perfectly well pleased with her match. and quite easy in her mind, the Vezir dispatched Ybad-ollah-qhan, the Cashmirian, a trusty Commander of his, with a number of good troops, together with Sëyd Djemil-eddin himself, who had orders to join by the way some cavalry of Adina-beg-qhan's. The distance was of forty or fifty cosses(245), (a hundred and twenty miles) ; and all this being gone over in one day and night, without hardly stopping to take breath, at day-break they got within Lahor ; and going to the Palace where the old Princess was yet asleep, and unsuspicious of what was managed, they sent eunuchs to wake her, and putting her in a close chair, they carried her to their camp, without Lahor ; from whence, after taking one day to refresh, they returned to the Vezir, encamped at Lodiana. This Minister no sooner saw her alight, than he paid her a respectful visit and asked her forgiveness ; and after giving the Government of Lahor and M8ltan to Adina-beg-qhan, under a clear rent of thirty lacs a year, he returned towards the Capital, seemingly happy and satisfied with the success of his journey. But the old Princess was extremely angry and uneasy all the way, giving abusive language to her guards, and making nothing of crying aloud, both to them and to their master, "That the indecent and "unjust manner with which she had been used, would end in an "infinity of troubles that would at last ruin his family, and the "Capital itself ; that the families of the highest nobility, involved "in one common ruin with the poorest citizens, would experience "merciless pillaging, and rapes and disgraces innumerable ; that

Stange predictions of his mother-in-law.

"the Empire, as well as the Capital, would be overset and ruined, "and know, (would she add crying with all her might,) that all "this is not f[illegible] You shall see the Abdali-king in this Capital "within six or seven months. Look, he is coming! All the "noble families, ancient or modern, will be involved in one "common massacre ; no Sheh, no Sëyd, will be spared ; all, all "slaughtered!" And, in fact, matters came to pass just as the old woman had said.

(245) The shortest cosse is of two Geometrical miles.

The Abdali-king, informed of the Vezir's insolence, and of the liberties he had taken with Mir-mann8's relict, flew to Lahor with the wings of resentment and celerity; but Adina-beg-qhan, who did not think himself a match for him, fled for shelter to the desert tract of Hansi, where he took up his residence in a fortress of difficult access, especially for want of water. The Vezir, on the other hand, conceiving fears for his own life, brought his new consort to Mir-mann8's widow, entrusted her person to her protection, and by dint of entreaties and submissions, made his peace with her. For the Abdali-king, who was flying on the wings of resentment and rapidity, was already at twenty cosses from the Capital of the Empire; and the Vezir disconcerted by so much expedition, saw no other party left to him, but that of submission, and going to the Abdali camp, he presented himself before that Monarch. The latter at first reprimanded him severely; but his cause being pleaded both by Mir-mann8's Begum, and by Shah Veli-qhan, the Abdali Vezir, who had been gained, the Monarch readily forgave him, and afterwards continued him in his office of Vezir. Nevertheless, on the seventh of the first Djemadi, of the year 1170, being a Friday, he quitted his encampment and entered the Citadel of Shah-djehan-abad, where he had an interview with the Emperor Alemghir the Second. From that day his people fell a plundering and sacking so mercilessly, and they went on dragging away people's wives and daughters with so much cruelty, that numbers overborne by the delicacy of their feelings, rather than to fall in such abominable hands, made away with themselves(246); and God only knows the number and

The Abdali Monarch marches against him.

Plunders Delhi.

(246) To men accustomed to the mildness of the European Governments, the Turkish one appears barbarous. It is nevertheless a mild one, when compared to the Government experienced by the Persians these eighty years. Making a garden of men, as they term it, that is, burying a couple of hundred of living men in the ground, some in an inverted position, with only their thighs and legs out, and some with only their heads and arms, all the while exposed to a raging sun, is no new, no uncommon practice. Shutting women in bags, and then beating them with sticks, or pricking them with awls, at stated times, until their fathers or husbands, fled into Turky or into India, should send up such a sum of money, is a very common expedient. But Persians themselves are a civilised people, when compared to the Afghans of Candahar. In no part of the world is human nature so abominably outraged.—Their method of carrying away a male prisoner is this, although not even themselves would use it to carry an ox or an ass. They bore a hole in his shoulder, under the clavicula bone so remarkable in it, and passing a

quality of all the violences exercised for a month together in that ill-fated city. The late Vezir Camer-eddin-qhan's Palace and seraglio were rifled of every thing; and few houses of the nobility and better sort escaped a complete ruin and pollution. It was in the middle of so much violence and misery, that the Abdali-king betook himself to an alliance of his family with that of Babr. He married his son, Timur-Shah, to a daughter of Yz-eddin, brother to the reigning Emperor. But after having leisurely plundered that rich city for thirty days together, he sent Djehan-qhan, a Commander of character, to chastise S8r8dj-mull, the Djatt, and he followed himself the next day. This was the fifth time the Abdali-king had come into Hindostan. The Vezir Umad-el-mulk, having of his own motion accompanied Djehan-qhan, and proved of very great service to that General, received the Abdali-king's approbation and applause; but mention having been made by his Ministers of a present which that Monarch expected, Umad-el-mulk answered, that if they would give him

thong or rope through it, make the end of it fast to their saddle, and then mount and trot away. If the prisoner cannot follow at the rate of 30 or 40, 50 or 60 miles a day, he is instantly killed. Anty-physicians of the first rate, no boy, no young man, of even twenty, can escape them; and when disputes arise about a prize, the whole is pacified, by cutting down the prize. The women, abused by them in an abominable manner, fled from them, and always preferred a well, to an Afghan. Girls of twelve and fourteen have become unmarriageable in their diabolical hands. And we have seen a lady, who rather than submit to such an embrace, fought the Afghan resolutely, although unarmed. He lifted his sabre, and was going to cut her down, when she presented her arm loaded with one of those enormous bracelets, invented by necessity, of *two pounds weight of gold*, and received the stroke upon the gold, whilst she struck the man with the other bracelet, and made him bleed; another stroke, another parade, and another heavy blow: a third; and the poor woman fatigued, wounded, and spent, was going to fall. Nothing but a miracle could save her, and a miracle was, in fact, wrought instantly. At the moment of the third stroke, a Persian one of the Cuzzelbash guards, hastening his pace, cried out: *In the name of God, most merciful!* and with one blow made the Afghan's head fly off from his shoulders. The poor woman, who had never been out of her house, and had never set a foot upon a street, marched on, without knowing whither she went, and in the evening, she was lucky enough to find her husband and family, at full twelve cosses from that fatal street. We have spoke to the lady; she is at Lucknow, a Catrani by clan. *Ex uno disce omnes.* An Afghan's method of clearing himself, is a very plain one, as the common soldiers wear nothing but felts, and go on with them for five years together. He lights up a fire, straddles over it, and keeps his body and abominable clothes in a semi-circular motion from right to left, and from left to right. Nor are their officers much cleaner. Their beards and eye-brows swarm with vermin, as well as their soldiers.

one of the Timurian Princes, with an army of Abdalies, and full power to carry it wherever he should think proper, especially in the country of Anter-bid, (that is, the tract betwixt the two rivers of Djumna and Ganga) he would undertake to bring an immense sum into the Royal Treasury. The proposal being agreed to, two Imperial Princes were sent for from the Capital, and put into his hands. The one was Hedaïet-baqhsh, son to Alemghir the second; and the other, his son-in-law, Mirza-babr, son to his brotner, Yz-eddin; and to these was joined a body of Abdalies, under the command of Djan-baz-qhan.

We have already observed that Umad-el-mulk had conceived a violent aversion against Ab8l-mans8r-qhan and his family, which last he had resolved to tear up by the root. Availing himself of the Abdali-king's covetousness, he, under pretence of raising immense contributions in the country of Anter-bid, or Dö-ab(247), marched westward with an army of D8rrani-Abdalies, but with not one of the necessaries for making a campaign. Being arrived in the neighbourhood of Feroh-abad, he was met by Ahmed-qhan-bangash, who after paying his respects to both the Imperial Princes and the Vezir, presented them all three with a complete equipage, consisting of tents, elephants, horses, camels, and every other necessary, and moreover added a body of Afghans to the Vezir's army. The latter being now at his ease, and reinforced by a good body of troops, crossed the Ganga, and took the road of A8d. This invasion, however, did not dismay or intimidate Shudjah-ed-döwlah, who came out of his Capital with a well appointed army, and encamped at Sandipai, the last place of his dominions; where some skirmishes took place betwixt the runners of the two vanguards. Saad-ollah-qhan, who was son to the late Aaly-mahmed-qhan-Rohillah, having offered his mediation, an agreement took place, under stipulation of a sum of five lacs of rupees, partly in hand, and partly payable by instalments. This negotiation, in which Saad-ollah-qhan exerted himself zealously for his friend, Shudjah-ed-döwlah, and proved of great service to both parties, totally disappointed Umad-el-mulk, who hoped for great broils and a battle, and was obliged to repass the Ganga, and to encamp at Feroh-abad again, in expectation of what the Abdali-king would

(247) Di-potamia would be the translation of that compound word.

do with the Djatts. It was the seventh of Shevval, in the year 1170.

The King had marched to Belem-gur, a fortress of his, at fifteen cosses from Shah-djehan-abad, and having taken it in three days by dint of cannon-ball and bombs, he put to the sword every man in the garrison. Proceeding from thence to Mahtra, which is a famous place of worship for the Hindoos, he gave his Van to Djehan-qhan, recommending dispatch to that General. The latter spurred his horse, and arriving unexpectedly in a holiday, he ruined effectually that rich city; his soldiers plundering, burning, and destroying everything they met, and carrying into captivity vast numbers of the consorts and children of the best families amongst the wretched citizens; an execution that struck such a terror throughout the country, that all the inhabitants quitted their habitations, and retired within their fortresses and strongholds. Meanwhile the Abdali-king advanced as far as Acbar-abad, but here he found some resistance. Mirza-seïf-ollah-beg, who commanded from a long series of years in the citadel of that city, refused to submit, and fired his cannon to so good a purpose, that no Abdali chose to abide its reach. Djehan-qhan, meanwhile, was busy in taking one after another the Djatt fortresses, when at once a mortality broke out amongst the Abdalies which swept their people in such vast numbers, as disabled their King from prosecuting his designs. Submitting therefore to his destiny, he recalled his troops from the Djatt country, and commenced his march to his own dominions. Being arrived at the Reservoir of Macsood-abad, which is on the same line with Shah-djehan-abad, he was visited by Alemghir the Second, who wished him a prosperous return, and much complained of Umad-el-mulk. The Abdali-king paid a regard to his grievances by conferring the ossice of "Prince of Princes" on Nedjib-qhan, now Nedjib-ed-döwlah, then present, and by recommending to his care the Emperor and his family.

And this naturally brings to our recollection that after the confinement of Ahmed-shah, and the accession of Alemghir the Second, dissensions had arisen very high between Umad-el-mulk, the Vezir, on one hand, and the two relicts of Mahmed-shah, on the other. These were Maleca-zemanî, daughter to Feroh-syur and Sahaba-mahal, both related to, and both consorts of, Mahmed-shah.

That Prince had from this second consort a daughter of great beauty, who had been the darling of her father's heart. These two Princesses, mindful of having seen the honour of the Empire trodden under by the Marhattas, and fired with indignation at finding themselves, in every matter, at the mercy of Umad-el-mulk, resolved to quit a country where every thing went to wreck; and they sent a message to the Abdali-king, claiming his protection, as being both so nearly related to Mahmed-shah and to him. The Abdali-king, who thought himself much honoured by such a request, and hoped to be applauded by posterity, sent for the daughter which he himself married, and he gave the two other Empresses a separate encampment in his camp; after which he marched to Lahor. His son, Tim8r-shah, coming to join him in his way, he appointed the young Prince Governor of Pendjab, M8ltan, and Tatta, gave him Djehan-qhan for Commandant of the troops, and turning towards his own dominions, he arrived by continued marches at Cab8l, and then at Candahar, where we shall leave him for a while, in order to take breath, and to afford ourselves time to cast a look at the affairs of Decan.

Moosher-Bussy commanded the body of French that had taken service with Hedaïet-muhi-eddin-qhan-Muzaafer-djung, and had attached himself to Nizam-el-mulk's family. This officer availed himself so well of the credit which his post gave him, that he became extremely powerful throughout the Decan. When he came to obtain the countries of Sicacol and Radj-benderi, &c., for his Djaghir, his influence rose so high, that every affair passed through his hands, and he governed with an absolute sway(248); he was decorated with the surname of Sëif-el-mulk,

The French grow powerful in Decan.

(248) If any one has seen M. de Bussy, and Colonel Clive, or Governor Hastings, in the heighth of their power and influence, he may have taken from those two or three individuals a pretty good idea of the different geniuses of the French and English nations. M. de Bussy always wore (in 1750 and 1755) embroidered clothes or brocade, with an embroidered hat, and, in days of ceremony, embroidered shoes of black velvet. He was seen in an immense tent, full sufficient for six hundred men, of about thirty feet in elevation. At one end of this tent he sat on an arm-chair, embroidered with his King's arms, placed upon an elevation, which last was covered by a crimson carpet of embroidered velvet. At his right and left, but upon back chairs only, sat a dozen of his officers; over against him, his French guard, on horse-back, and behind these, his Turkish guards. His table, always in plate, was served with three, often with four services. To this French

or "Sword of the State," and the title of Umdut-el-mulk, or the "Greatest of the Kingdom." This General had given so great a sway in all his affairs, public or private, to Häider-djung, a nobleman of those countries, that the latter came in fact to govern the six Soobahdaries of Decan. But the English struck with this flow of prosperty amongst the French, resolved to come in for a share of the good things and conquests of India; and with that view they joined Mahmed-aaly-qhan, son to Anvar-eddin-qhan of Gopa-ma8, under whose name they possessed themselves of some Districts of the Province of Arcat. M8sher-Bussy, meanwhile, taking umbrage at Roc8n-ed-döwlah's administration, got him dismissed from his office of Prime Minister, which he obtained for Shah-nevaz-qhan, a nobleman with whom he had connections. This Minister, in the four years which his administration lasted, governed with so much vigour and prudence, that the Marhattas never thought of quitting their frontiers. It is he that drew from inaction and obscurity the two Princes, Mir Nizam-aaly and Mir Mahammed-sherif, younger brothers to Selabet-djung, two young men who hitherto had both lived in their elder's Palace. This was in the year 1169. Mir Nizam-aaly (who now governs the Decan as Sovereign,) was decorated with the surname of the second Asef-dja, and sent to govern the Barar; and Mir Mushref, after having been successively decorated with the title sof Shudjah-el-mulk, and Burhan-el-mulk, or the

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magnificence; he added all the parade and pageant of Hindoostany manners and customs: a numerous set of tents; a pish-qhana; always on elephant himself, as were all his officers. He was preceded by chopdars on horse-back, and by a set of musicians singing his feats of chivalry, with always two head-chopdars reciting his eulogium. Colonel Clive always wore his regimentals in the field, was always on horse-back, and never rode in a palanquin, he had a plentiful table, but noways delicate, and never more than two services. He used to march mostly at the head of the column, with his Aid-de-camps, or was hunting at the right and left. He never wore silks, but in town. Governor Hastings always wore a plain coat of English broad-cloth, and never anything like lace or embroidery. His whole retinue, a dozen of horse-guards; he had two chopdars, always ready to pronounce his eulogium, but, however, without his ever so much as suspecting their talent, for full twelve years together; and he departed for Europe, without so much as knowing those men as orators. His throne, a plain chair of mahogany, with plenty of such thrones in the hall; his table, sometimes neglected, his diet sparing, and always abstemious: his address and deportment, very distant from pride, and still more so, from familiarity.

"Valorous and Impetuous of the State," was sent to govern the Kingdom of Bidjapoor; and both brothers departed to their respective stations. But in the very next year the office of first Minister was taken from Shah-nevaz-qhan, and bestowed on Mir Mushref, who came from Bidjapoor to receive it. However he did not enjoy it; for his brother, Nizam-aaly, having marched to Aoreng-abad with a good army, requested his younger brother to take some repose, and assuming at the same time his office of Prime Minister, he became the centre of all affairs, and even changed his younger brother's title into that which had been formerly the title of their common father.

It was in this same year that Baladji-räo, the Marhatta, advanced upon the frontiers of Aoreng-abad, with intention to avail himself of the rising broils, so as to have a pretence for quarreling. But the conjunctures upon which he had reckoned had already ceased; and Nizam-aaly, having left his apparent Lord, Selabet-djung, to defend the city of Aoreng-abad, came out himself with his brother, Mir-mushref, and advanced upon Baladji-räo, whom he lead beating, as far as Sund-gur, which is at thirty cosses from Aoreng-abad; but there he thought proper to come to an accommodation in which he consented to give Baladji-räo throughout all Decan, a Djaghir of thirty-seven lacs of rupees. After this he returned to Aoreng-abad. But M8shur Bussy, who commanded an independent body of troops, having taken umbrage at this absolute authority assumed by Nizam-aaly, conceived the design of breaking his rising power (although in fact he only accelerated the ruin of Nizam-el-mulk's family), as he conceived that so long as Nizam-aaly should be at the head of so great a force, the influence of the French would become only a secondary object. By the means of some underhand management, conducted by Haïder-djung, who, as we have said, was everything in his affairs, he debauched from Nizam-aaly's service his best officers, and amongst others Hibrahim-qhan, the Gardi(249), an officer of character, attached this longwhile

(249) Hibrahim-qhan-gardi was a very thin black man, much pitted with the small-pox, who had in times of yore ran with a stick in his hand before Mr de Bury's palenkin, Major of the place at Pondicherry. As he spoke a little Portuguese, the Major put him amongst the Sepahies whom he was raising, and whose language he could not understand. Hibrahim rose in time to be a Commedan, or Commandant, that is, to have a couple of thousand Sepahies, and a couple of hundred horses

to that young Prince, whom he served with a body of his own troops. He debauched in the same manner some other Commanders and troops, which he took in his own service, making good from his own treasury eight lacs of rupees, which were due to them by Nizam-aaly upon their arrears. By such an artful management he reduced the young Prince to the condition of a bird which has lost its feathers. He at the same time laid hold of Shah-nevaz-qhan, and got him confined. Being now satisfied on those two important articles, he conceived a third scheme, which was that of confining Nizam-aaly in the fortress of Golcondah, under pretence of carrying him to Haïder-abad, and giving him the government of that Province; which removal once effected, he conceived that he should remain master of the Government to all intents and purposes. This scheme was laid with great secrecy; but Nizam-aaly having by dint of penetration guessed the whole of its drift, he resolved to be beforehand with M8shur Bussy, by killing his Minister, Haïder-djung. Having imparted his design to a few trusty persons, he fixed on the third of Ramazan, in the year 1171, for its execution. That very day Haider-djung was coming to Nizam-aaly's quarters for some business, and having observed some movements that did not please him, he wanted to go back, when he was set upon instantly and had his throat cut in a moment. Nizam-aaly after striking such a blow, threw himself upon a horse, and fairly made his escape; the whole French army with their artillery, in order of battle, standing astonished and dismayed, as if they had been an army of statues and pictures, set upright in a plain. This was a daring intrepid action, that equalled any thing done by Rustem or Ispent-yar(250), and where it seemed that

Troublest in Decan, and daring action of Nizam-aaly's.

under his command. He soon became independent of his benefactors, as did in time all the commandants in the French service, who allowed them such a number of horse and foot under their command as rendered them proud. The French are the first who raised Sepahies in India, that is, who gave muskets and bayonets to the country-musketeers: but whoever should conclude from the name that they were anything comparable to the English Sepahies of our days, would commit an enormous mistake. The French could neither change their dress, or cloth them uniformly, or keep their arms in order, or punish them, or prevent their firing away their ammunition at the new moon, or pay them themselves, or bring them under the least estraint or discipline. They were a rabble with immense turbants, and immense trowsers, with muskets so ill used, that not one in twenty was in order.

(250) Two famous heroes of the ancient Persian History.—*See the Shanamah, an Heroic Persian Poem, of sixty thousand distichs.*

Mooshur-Bussy, and all his officers were out of their senses. In this confusion, some of Haïder-djung's people ran to Shah-nevaz-qhan, and his son, Mir Abdel-nebi-qhan, and put them both to death, together with another nobleman of consequence, called Amin-ed-dŏwlah. The tumult being over, Selabet-djung, Mir Mushref, and Mooshur-Bussy, returned to Haïder-abad. As to Nizam-aaly, he took to the road of B8rhanp8r, found means to regain his old servant, Hibrahim-qhan-gardi; and after that action, he marched with him in that city, where they put under contribution the rich men of the country, and amongst others Mahmed-anvar-qhan, the B8rhan-p8rian. This nobleman had acted as mediator in the treaty which had once taken place between the Marhatta General, Sancradji-malhar, and the Viceroy, Hossein-aaly-qhan; by which the latter had consented to pay the Marhattas, a Chö8t, or a tribute. This nobleman incensed to find himself so tormented for money, said farewell to his own existence, and was buried in the Garden of Shah-yssa, *alias* Djund-allah. These contributions having put it in Nizam-aaly's power to raise a good body of troops, he marched from B8rhanp8r, and took up his quarters at Bassem, a principal town of the dependencies of Barar. There he had many disputes and several engagements with the Mucasdar, or Marhatta Governor of that Province, who was Djano-dji, son to Ragho-dji-bhosselah, with whom he at last concluded an agreement. After this he marched to Haïder-abad, where great disputes and dissensions arose between the three brothers. At last it was agreed that Selabet-djung and Nizam-aaly should remain and live together: but that Mir Mushref should immediately proceed to his Government of Bidjapoor.

The Marhattas extort fortresses and territories from Nizam-aaly.

Whilst the brothers were disputing amongst themselves, Seda-shi8, a relation of the Marhatta Baladji-räo, intrigued so well with the Governor of Ahmed-nagur, that this fortress, once the Capital of the Kings of Nizam-shah's family,—that fortress which had cost so much time and trouble to Abdól-rahim-qhan, the General of the Imperial Prince Soltan-danial, and which since Soltan-acbar-shah's reign, had always been in the possession of its particular Governors, was surrendered in a day, and became annexed to the Marhatta Empire. This city and fortress had been built in the year nine hundred by Ahmed-nizam-shah, King of Bidjapoor, who gave it his own name. He

built the city in two years, and it afforded a fine prospect. Two years after, having found a proper opportunity, he built the fortress, likewise, making up the walls with clay and stone, and, it continued in the hands of his successors, when in the year 1090 it fell in the hands of the Emperors of the House of Bábr, in whose power it remained, until it passed to the Marhatta Empire, in the year 1173.

It was about this time that broils having arisen between the English and French, the latter abandoned Selabet-djung's service, and returned to the centre of their dominions, P8lcherry. From that moment Selabet-djung's preponderance seemed to verge to its ruin; and his national enemies having conceived high-flown designs, they aimed not only at reducing his person to nothing, but likewise at snatching from Nizam-el-mulk's family, all the dominions of Decan. They even engaged Hibrahim-qhan-gardi to take service with them; a man from the dregs of the people, who having served for a length of time under the French, and learned their way of managing their cannon and musketry, was actually at the head of a body of such musketeers, and such an artillery of his own, that made him courted by all parties. He was now gone to P8nah, in company with Seda-sy8; but it was not for any length of time. The twenty-second of the month of Djemady in the same year, he came out of P8nah in conjunction with the Marhatta army, which encountered the two brothers, Selabet-djung and Nizam-aaly, in the territory of 8dghir. Unfortunately for them they had but seven thousand horse with them at that moment, having parted from their main some hours ago. The Marhattas had sixty thousand cavalry. The two brothers wanted to march forwards in order to effect a junction with those of their troops that had remained at Dehaver; but this was opposed by the Marhattas, who, although they have no other way of fighting than that of repeated skirmishes, and no other industry than that of distressing the enemy for want of forage, victuals, water, and other necessaries, nevertheless availed themselves of so marked a superiority on their side, and made nothing of engaging nearer, and of coming to hand-blows with their long swords and short spears. So that the Hindoostanies had no other resource, but that of marching slowly in a body surrounded by their cannon. But even this resource failed

them. Their artillery was heavy and unmanageable, whereas the Marhattas had now in the Sepahies of Hibrahim-qhan a body of musketry always ready to oppose the enemy's march, and in his cannon, which was much lighter and better mounted, an expeditious artillery, which advanced and wheeled round just as the managers pleased. The two brothers laboured likewise under a further disadvantage. As their troops marched in a body together, the enemy's cannon never failed to send amongst them some balls that always did some havock; whereas the Marhattas marching in small dispersed troops, were seldom struck by any cannon, or if struck, received but little damage; and when upon a halt they were attacked by the Hindoostanies, they always found in the quickness of Hibrahim-gardie's fire, a sure resource for repelling the enemy. In consequence of all these disadvantages the two brothers lost in their retreat a number of men. Nevertheless, the sixth day of march, they found an opportunity of coming to hand-blows with the enemy, especially with Hibrahim-qhan's people; and falling amongst them, sword in hand, they made a great slaughter, and took eleven colours from the latter; and in this manner they continued their march, as far as the Fortress of Häosah, which is only at ten cosses from Dehaver. The Marhattas conceiving that, if once a junction was effected between the two brothers, they would prove an undermatch, resolved to make a last effort to prevent it. With forty-thousand horse they attacked Selabet-djung's van, which consisted of no more than three thousand, and after a sharp action, they destroyed it totally. This check, by humbling the family of Nizam-el-mulk, prepared its ruin: and the two brothers, finding that a junction was impossible, thought only of an accommodation, and it was concluded in such terms as proved only the seed of future mischiefs and disputes. The Marhattas by this peace obtained, under the name of Djaghir, the cession of a country of sixty lacs a year. It consisted of the territory of Aorengabad, (that city excepted,) and the Districts of Houily, Hursool, and Setrah. The remainder was made up with the Provinces of Beder and Bidjapoor, as well as with the Fortresses of Döölet-abad, Assir, and Bidjapoor, places of consequence, that had been anciently the Capitals of so many powerful Kingdoms, and had cost so much blood and treasure. These latter lands served

for demesnes to the two brothers, and had hitherto afforded appanages and a plentiful subsistence to a number of mansob-dars, and officers, and noblemen of high rank; who being now deprived of such a certain livelihood, were reduced as low as their Sovereigns and Lords, the Prince of Princes of the house of Nizam-el-mulk. Nor did anything remain to this family, but the Province of Haïder-abad, with some Districts of that of Barar and Bidjap8r, and a small portion of that of Beder; and even this did not remain to them without being saddled with a chö8t(251), a slight tribute imposed by the victors, which did not amount to a quarter of the real revenue, but which they never fail to im-prove and to nurse up, as soon as they have committed the young plant to the ground. Nevertheless, in spite of so many disgraces the project of the enemies of that illustrious family did not take place, and it continued to enjoy dominion and sovereignty in Decan. But as we have just been mentioning the name of the three fortresses, as having been the Capitals of so many powerful Kingdoms, we imagine that some account of them may prove acceptable to our readers.

Nizam-aaly overcome by the Marhattas, parts with a large territory

Ram-de8, Radja of Dö8let-abad, then called Dë8gar, having been vanquished by Soltan-ala-eddin--qhlidji, redeemed his life by presenting that Prince with an immense sum of money(252), and with a variety of costly presents and curious stuffs. It was in the year six hundred and ninty-five of the Hedjrah. But in the year seven hundred and seven, the Radja having been again vanquished and subdued by Meleck Caf8r, an Habeshinian slave, which the conqueror had left in those parts as his Naib, or Deputy, the Gentoo Prince thought proper to follow him to Delhi, where he was kindly received by Soltan-alä-eddin-qhlidji, who

(251) One-quarter of the revenue of the country.

(252) There is an Indian Proverb, that runs in these words:—*This is a Radjah's house; are you afraid of wanting for Pearls?*

India, in fact is the sink of all the treasures of the world, and so early as the times of the Romans it received two millions sterling a year from them, and it has continued ever since to swallow all the silver and gold of the world; but all those treasures are buried in the ground. Its several Princes sometimes at peace for several generations together, and living meanwhile like so many hermits, had no opportunities of spending their revenues, and they therefore kept them in hoards and ricks, such as those found by Sooltan-mahm8d-Seb8k-teghin, the first Mussul-man conqueror that penetrated into India; hoards that would be past belief, were

honoured him with a sun-screen, or umbrella(253), and the title of Räy-räyan, or Counsellor of Counsellors; after which he returned satisfied to Dö8let-abad, his Capital, and from that moment he never thought of revolting against him, or of disputing the orders sent him from Court. After his death, he was succeeded by his son, but the Deputy Governor, Melec-caf8r, who did not live upon such good terms with the son as he had done with the father, continued to make conquests on the young Prince, and to deprive him of more territories, as far as the Carnatic. He even sent complaints against him to Court, and obtained leave to strip him intirely of his dominions, and to annex them to the Empire of the Qhlidji Emperors(254). The Deputy Governor having obtained this consent, in the year seven hundred and eleven, marched to Dë8gur, seized on the Gentoo Prince, put him to death, and took possession of that fortress, which from that day has remained in the hands of the Emperors of Hindostan. But the Empire having passed, some centuries after, from the Patans of the tribe of Qhlidji to the Moghuls of the House of Timur, the Emperor Shah-djehan, one of the most victorious of Princes which this last family has ever produced, sent one of his Generals, who bore the title of "Lord of Lords," with orders to recover the fortress from the Kings of Decan, who were then the descendants of Nizam-shah; and it remained from that time under the power of the House of Timur, being governed by a succession of Governors, independent of the Viceroys of the province. Under the Hindoo Princes it had not that deep fossé it has now; nor was it surrounded by a third enclosure, as it is in our days; nor was it so strong as the Mussulman Princes have since made it; and it is Sultan-mahmed, son to Toghlyc-shah, who changed its name into that of Dö8let-abad. He surrounded

not the assertion corroborated by those immense riches found by Alexander in several parts of the Persian dominions, and lately by Haider-aaly-qhan, in Syring-patam, that Capital of only a small Kingdom.

(253) We have observed, at the ceremony of Ahmed-shah's inauguration, that the umbrella is an insignia of Sovereignty.

(254) The Qhlidjies as well as the Lo8dies, were particular races of the Patans that were settled in Hindostan long before Timur's arrival; nor were those Patans any others than the Siah-poshes (the man in blue), that gave him so much trouble in the mountains north of India; nor were those Patans anything else but the Afghans of our days.

it with a wall of squared stone, adorned it with noble buildings, and he even had a mind to make it his residence and the Capital of his dominions. For that purpose he unpeopled part of Delhi, and transported its inhabitants to Dŏ8let-abad; but his scheme, did not prosper. It is computed that this fortress fell into the hands of the Marhattas, four hundred and sixty years after that period.

Some accounts of Bidjapoor.

As to the Fortress of Bidjapoor, it has been built by Y8s8f-adel-shah, founder of a family of Kings who always bore the same name. It was at first raised with mud; but in the year 900, he surrounded it with a wall of stone and mortar, and left it to his descendants, in whose hands it continued until it was taken from Sekander-adel-shah, the last of that family, by the victorious arms of Aoreng-zib, in the year 1097. It fell in the hands of the Marhattas about two hundred and sixty-seven years after its building. The Governor surrendered it without saying a word; but Sĕyd Nedjef-aaly-qhan, Governor of the Fortress of Assir, who received a like order from Selabet-djung, refused to surrender his fortress, and he supported a siege of a whole year, when being reduced to extremity for want of victuals, he surrendered it to the Marhattas upon terms. It was on the 12th of the second Reby, in the year 1174.

This Fortress of Assir is one of those built by Assa-ahir, who gave it his own name, which word in process of time, has been curtailed by the suppression of three letters, into that of Assir. His name was really Assa, to which, in compliance with the custom of India, they added that of his clan, which was that of Ahir, a tribe that employ themselves solely on dairy business and in attending black cattle. This Assa was a Zemindar of an illustrious family of Qhandess, which had dwelt on that mountain as well as commanded in that District, for seven hundred years together, and they had raised a fort of rough stone and mud to secure their herds and their riches. It came to Assa in that condition. But as he was much richer and much more powerful than his predecessors, he threw down the old walls, and raised a regular fortification of stone and lime, which became very strong, was conspicuous from afar, and came at last to be called by the name of Assa-ahir's Fortress. It was snatched from his hands by Nassur-qhan-farooky, who in the year eight hundred

and one assumed the crown, and set up a new Monarchy in the Province of Qnandess, where he commanded as Governor. But this fortress being nearly impregnable by open force, he made use of the following stratagem: He sent word to Assa to request his giving an asylum to his children, consorts, and family, as the Radja of Buglana, and the Radja of Antoor had joined together, and were coming upon him (Nassyr-qhan) at the head of a great army; two Princes whom he would readily encounter, as soon as his mind should be easy with respect to his family. The Gentoo consented, and gave orders at the gate accordingly. The day appointed, a number of covered chairs entered the fort. They were full of Nassyr-qhan's women, who had orders to treat Assa's women with the utmost civility, and with many presents, whenever they should come to pay them a visit. They came in fact, and returned to their homes, perfectly satisfied with their guests. The next day, an equal number of covered chairs came in, and were admitted; but they contained two hundred of the bravest men of Nassyr-qhan's army. The Radja hearing that these only were the Governor's consorts and daughters, whereas the former were but his concubines, got up from his palace, with his children, and went forward to welcome the new comers, and to introduce them to their new lodgings; and he was returning home, after having fulfilled that office, when the men in the mahafas, having assembled together, fell upon him, and put him to the sword, with his children and retinue. The rest of the garrison, frightened by this execution, asked for quarter, and were permitted to retire out of the fortress. Nassyr-qhan, informed of this, hastened thither with a body of troops with which he put a garrison into it; and it has remained since that day in the possession of his descendants, until the reign of Sultan-Acbar-shah, Emperor of Hindostan; when in the year 1009, it was taken from the last of them, Bahadyr, son to Radja-aaly-qhan, and entrusted successively to a number of Governors, independent of the Province. It was computed that about four hundred and sixty years had elapsed betwixt Nassyr-qhan, and the surrendering of this fortress to the Marhattas. It was in this same year, 1174, that the English having taken from the French the Fortress and Port of P8lcherry, after a long siege, ruined from the foundation both its fortifications and buildings. By a

War between the French and English, which last take P8lcherry.

consequence of the same event the Provinces of Sicacol, Radjbendery, and some others, that had been given in Djaghir to the French, and which it was thought would never be recovered from their hands, fell down of themselves at this time, and returned to their former owners.

But this event, considerable as it was, proved of small consequence, when compared to those that had at the same time taken place in the Capital. We have already said something of Nedjib-qhan, the Rohillah, who was a man of genius and valour, and we have mentioned that having been, on account of the high character he bore, invited over by the Vezir Umad-el-mulk, whilst he was waging war with Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, he came soon to be greatly esteemed, so as to rise to the highest influence and dignities; and it was out of regard to that high character of his, still more than for his being an Afghan and a countryman, that the Abdaly Monarch had thought proper to recommend him to the high dignity of "Prince of Princes." Whilst this high dignity was betowing at Delhi, the Vezir Umad-el-mulk was waiting at Feroh-abad the issue of the Abdali-king's expedition; but he no sooner heard that he was returned to Candahar, than thinking his honour concerned in not falling short of that Monarch, he bestowed that high office on Ahmed-qhan-bangash, just as the Monarch had bestowed it on Nedjib-qhan. After that he returned to Shah-djehan-abad. In his way thither, he effected a junction with Ragonat-rão, a relation of Baladji-rão's, as well as with the Marhatta General, Malhar-holcar, and marched to that Capital, which he took; and having besieged the citadel, nothing was seen for forty-five days together but cannon-balls and rockets; and both the Emperor Alemghir and Nedjib-ed-döwlah, *alias* Nedjib-qhan, his Minister, were going to fall in his hands, when the latter sent a mighty bribe to Malhar, who from that moment assumed the character of mediator, and proposed an accommodation. Meanwhile, having brought Nedjib-ed-döwlah from the citadel, with both his family, furniture, and effects, he lodged him close to his own quarters. After which he conveyed him to his own country, which is on the other side of the Djumna, and consists of the Districts of Soharenpoor, Chandpoor, the whole territory of Barr, and some other lands, like Boodya, and Nedina. After this departure, Umad-el-mulk, who

styled himself the Vezir, took possession of the administration of what was still called the Empire, placed his own creatures in it, and remained the sole disposer of affairs. But long before the Vezir's arrival at the Capital, his intentions were so far mistrusted by the Emperor Alemghir and his Minister, Nedjib-ed-döwlah, that they had thought proper to send the Imperial Prince out of town. This was Aaly-goher, who bore the same title with his father. They gave him in appanage the Districts of Hansi, Djudjar, Cher-radery, and some others that yet depended on the Qhalissa, and they recommended to his care, to seem busy only in settling the revenue of those Districts, and in bringing them into order; but meanwhile to take possession of as many more Districts as he could, in his right of presumptive heir of the Empire, and virtual owner of that whole country. They added, that he ought to employ those revenues in acquiring friends, raising a good army, and keeping himself in readiness to come to his father's assistance, whenever the Vezir Umad-el-mulk should return to the Capital, and avail himself of the two Imperial Princes in his power to excite troubles, and to give vent to his own mischievous disposition. Whilst Aaly-goher was preparing himself to go abroad, the Empress Zinet-mahal, second consort to the reigning Emperor, who on the decease of Aaly-goher's mother had conceived for him a motherly affection, willing to render him a farewell service, sent for my father, at the gate of the seraglio, with the Emperor's consent, and there she appeared veiled in his presence; and after having strongly recommended Aaly-goher's education as well as his person to his paternal care, she took the young Prince's hands and put them in my father's right hand. The young Prince, after this tender scene, went out, and took up his residence at the seat and garden of Tal-catörah, where he commenced assembling forces, most of the braves residing in the city making it a point to enlist under him. One of these was Mir-djaafer, the Hindostani, who had with him a number of men that bore a character both for bravery and fidelity. Ozm-aaly-qhan was another nobleman of the same family, with the late Hussein-aaly-qhan, and like him devoted to the service of an Imperial Prince, as we shall some day mention, if it pleases God. But as by this time the Vezir Umad-el-mulk had with the assistance

Umad-el-mulk seizes Delhi, and the Emperor person.

Some account of Prince Aal-goher, present rei-ing Empero under the title of Sha-allem.

of his Marhattas, made himself master of the Emperor's person, he forced the latter to send an order of recall to the Shah-zadah, or Imperial Prince, and not satisfied with that, he supported the letter by a General of his own, Seïf-eddin-aaly-qhan, the Cashmirian, at the head of ten thousand horse, and by a precise order to bring the Prince back by every means in his power—by persuasion, promises, intreaties, threats, and open force. The Prince, sensible of his helpless situation, turned towards the Capital, and he was setting out for it, when he was dissuaded by one of the Commanders that had come over with Holcar-malhar to the Vezir's assistance, and had enabled him to drive away Nedjib-ed-dowlah and to make himself master of the Emperor's person. This was Atel-räo, who although intending to follow the others into Decan, was yet encamped in the territory of the Capital. This Commander, meeting the Shah-zadah in his return thither, dissuaded him from going to the city, where he represented the many dangers to which he would infallibly be exposed, from the Vezir's omnipotence, fears, and cruelty; and he proposed his rather continuing abroad, and taking possession of the territories round the Capital, in which case he would serve the Prince with his person and troops. The latter who wanted no better, and who augured well of such a proffer, quitted the road he held, and joining Atel-räo, he crossed the Djumna, and took possession of some Districts in the neighbourhood. The Vezir hearing of such a change, sent a secret message to Atel-räo, and under promise of a great present, he wrought so great an alteration in his mind, that the Marhatta commenced advising the Prince to return to the Capital, and at the same time parted company with him. The Prince obliged to submit to circumstances, returned to the city, and took up his abode in Aaly-merdan-qhan's Palace, whatever instances the Vezir made for his residing within the Citadel. He had but a small number of friends with him, and but a small number of troops, as all those of the latter description, who had dwellings in the city, had retired to their homes. The Vezir sensible of this, sent him a message, requesting his being pleased to dismiss all his troops, as the treasury could not afford to pay for them; else, he advised that they should be sent to the Districts of the Prince's appanage, as the only means to keep those Districts under

order, and as the only method to pay those people the arrears which they claimed. The Prince who saw the drift of the message, but had no choice left, picked up a small number, whom he desired to reside with him, and he sent the rest to the territories pointed out.

The Prince being disarmed by this manœuvre, the Vezir remained inactive for a fortnight; when one day, on pretence of going to visit Shah-nizam-eddin's Monument, he assembled vast number of armed men at his Palace gate, and at once sent ten or twelve thousand of them to Aaly-merdan-qhan's Palace, with orders to besiege it, and to confine the Shah-zadah's person. The troops having in a short time bored holes through the walls, penetrated within the outer courts, whilst others were getting upon the terraces, and began firing so briskly that they soon killed the greatest part of those who had shewed themselves from within. Mir-djaafer-aaly and Ozm-aaly-qhan, who saw all this, and were ready armed, as well as the Prince, observed to him, "That it was better to make a sortie upon the enemy, and to "fight them manfully, as the consequence would be either to "perish bravely like men of honour and character, or to effect "an escape. That in the first case, they would jump at once into "eternity, with their heads encircled by the Tulip garlands of "martyrdom; and in the second, they would get rid of their "pursuers, and recover their liberty." The Prince consented. He had only a few men with him, but these were determined and resolute. Mounting their horses, they advanced to the back part of the house, where there was a certain breach in the wall which looked on the river; and falling unexpectedly upon the enemies, sabre in hand, they in a moment cut their passage through them, strewing the ground with their dead. The Prince slew two men with his own hands, and he behaved throughout the whole action with so much personal prowess and heroical conduct, that the Cahremans and Heroes of old times would have bit the finger of astonishment, had they been witness of his valiance. The enemies ashamed to see their prey ready to escape, crowded after them, and pursued hotly. In this extremity that intrepid troop used to turn about, rush upon their pursuers, put the foremost to flight, kill some of them, and then continue their route as before; and it was by such continual exertions that they cut their

His heroical retreat through a whole army.

way towards Atel-rão, the Marhatta, who was encamped at Tilamahnoo. That General informed of what passed within sight of his encampment, came out with a body of cavalry, and having received the Prince with every mark of respect, he brought him within his camp; and as that Commander had been some time ago a strenuous adviser of the Prince's repairing to the Capital, so as in fact to oblige him to return thither, and had moreover parted company with him, he now exerted himself in making an apology for being in some measure the cause of the Prince's danger. After that, he did every thing in his power to sooth his mind; he then pitched a number of tents for him, and several more for his men, with others apart for his wounded, of whom he took great care, assisting with necessaries both these and the others. During that trying retreat, the enemy pressed so hard, that every one saw that the Prince was going to fall in their hands or to be slain. In that citical moment, that would have appalled a Rustem and a Sam(255), the illustrious Sëyd, Ozmaaly-qhan, with that daring courage hereditary in his family, and that heroical valour which came to him from the founder of his race, Aaly, the King of braves, turned about to the Prince, and said, "Prince, thou art destined to be one day a resource to "an infinity of people, and thy life is, therefore, more precious "to-day than ours. Run then forwards and gain some distance, "and I will undertake meanwhile to stop the enemy, until thou "shalt have distanced him." He said, and with a daringness the more admirable, because of his youth, he turned about and fell amongst the purfuers with such fury, that the sphere of heaven stopped short to look at so much prowess; and when that young hero fell at last, spent with the fatigue of the slaughter, its eyes were seen to drop tears in great abundance(256). Atel-rão having seen his guests refreshed and recovered, made a return upon himself, and reflected that his masters in Decan might find fault with him for so openly espousing the interests of Umad-el-mulk's enemies. He therefore thought proper to afford no more a handle against himself, and he escorted the Prince as far as

(255) Two famous Heroes of the ancient Persian History.

(256) It appears from a relation of that retreat, by a different hand, that those six Heroes, already spent with fatigue, and fainting with heat, were suddenly refreshed by a slight shower of rain.

Feroh-abad, a place different from Bangashe's Capital. There he was received by M8ssa-qhan, the Ball8ch(257), Zemindar of that country, and son to Cam-car-qhan, who expressed great respect for the Prince's person, pitied his situation, and made him a present of three lacs of rupees. Atel-rão having seen his Royal guest in a place of safety, took his leave, and returned. The Prince quitting M8ssa-qhan's country, advanced by C8ndj-p8ra to Soharenp8r where he found Nedjib-ed-döwlah. The latter entertained the Prince for eight months together, and neglected nothing of what could conduce to alleviate his sorrows; but a great Revolution having at that time taken place in Bengal, where Mir-djaafer-qhan had possessed himself of that country by the assistance of the English, he advised the Prince to avail himself of that opportunity to shew his person in those regions, and to try whether he could not take possession of them. By these insinuations he freed himself honorably from a guest that was likely to attract upon his person and country the whole weight of Ümad-el-mullk's resentment. Having, therefore, presented the Prince with as large a sum of money as he could afford, he took his leave. The Prince having listened to that advice, left at Mehranp8r both my father and Munnir-ed-döwlah, with orders to assemble troops, and to prepare some artillery and ammunition; and taking his leave of them, he marched by Moorad-abad and Berëily with intention to repair to the country of A8d. In his way thither he was entertained by Saad-ollah-qhan, son to Aaly-mahmed-qhan-Rohillah, who exerted in pleasing and assisting him. It was the ninth of the first Djemady in the year 1171, when he arrived at Mohan, a town at seven cosses distance from Lucknow. Shudjah-ed-döwlah informed of the Prince's circumstances and arrival, advanced to that town, paid him his obeisance, presented him with a Nuzur of one hundred and one Eshrefyes(258), and behaved himself in everything with the utmost obsequiousness and respect; the moment after he supplicated the Prince to accept a small present from him. It

The Imperial Prince, obliged to fly from his father's house, is received everywhere with respect.

(257) The Ball8ches are a ferocious people, inhabiting the south-east parts of Persia, with the contiguous frontier of India. They have spread in the latter country since Nadyr-shah's reign, and there is a quarter at Lucknow that bears their name.

(258) The value of two Guineas each.

consisted in one lac of rupees in ready money, a table or qhoan covered with jewels, several such tables covered with precious stuffs, a set of tents, utensils for all kind of offices, and a quantity of arms. To these, he added two elephants with their covered and shaded Amharies, and a Taht-revan, or moving throne, with ten baggage-carts. The Prince having cast a glance at that offering of Shudjah-ed-döwlah's, invited him to a closet(259), where he remained two hours with him, after which he dismissed him, making him a present of the Turbant he wore, with his own Serpitch and his own Paleky. From thence the Prince marched to Ilah-abad, where having attached Mahmed-c8ly-qhan to his cause, they marched together to Azim-abad, as we have mentioned at length in our account of the affairs of Bengal. Whether Shudjah-ed-döwlah would have followed the Prince, is not clear; but at any rate he had at that time much business of his own.

Umad-el-mulk's attempts to embroil the Rohillahs, and Shudja-ed-döwlah, serve only to bring them to an understanding.

We have already mentioned that the Vezir Ab8l-mans8r-qhan, having got himself joined by a body of Marhattas, had ruined the power of the Afghan, Ahmed-bangash, and had given the country of Antervid, *alias* the Dö-abah, to those people, for the purpose of insuring their pay and arrears. The Marhattas having extended their ravages throughout that country, had cast their eyes on the neighbouring province of A8d, and were biting the finger of regret for not having yet attacked and seized that fine region, as well as the rest of the Rohillah country. And they were yet brooding on their grief, when Umad-el-mulk, who was personally incensed against Nedjib-ed-döwlah, conceived the design of ruining him intirely; but as in spite of the Abdali-king's countenance, he had found means to drive him from the office of Prince of Princes, so he expected that without being apparently concerned in the matter himself, he would as easily drive him from his principality, by committing him with the Marhattas; his intention being to serve Shudjah-ed-döwlah in the same manner, as soon as he had finished Nedjib-ed-döwlah. Such a scheme having been soon guessed at, brought about an union of concerns between those two Princes, equally threatened;

(259) The expression he made use of at that moment, and which has remained as etiquette ever after, was that of Bhai-navvab, brother-Navvab, brother Deputy or Lieutenant; for the word Navvab is only the plural of the Arabic word Naib although it is used in India as a singular.

and here we must admire that Providence which overset that well concerted scheme by bringing friendship and union out of the chaos of aversion and mutual mistrust, and could render the Afghans, those inveterate enemies of Ab8l-mans8r-qhan and his family, so many faithful assisters, and so many zealous well-wishers of Shudjan-ed-dŏwlah's prosperity. It is true the latter had cultivated a friendship with Nedjib-ed-dŏwlah, and with the several Princes of Aaly-mahmed-Rohillah's family; but now the common hatred against the Vezir, Umad-el-mulk, and the common dread of an addition of power to the Marhattas, had drawn closer the bands of union between those Princes, so as to verify the famous sentence:

"Even an enemy will promote thine welfare, if it so pleases God."

But now a general rumour had spread everywhere that Data-sindia, nephew to Djingo-dji, had in the first month of the year 1171 marched from Decan at the head of a powerful army, commanded by renowned Generals, and with a firm resolution to finish the conquest of Hindostan, and after having spent that year in strengthening his former conquests, he intended to invade the country of the Rohillahs, as well as the dominions of Shudjah-ed-dowlah. No wonder, therefore, if the latter joined their councils together, and prepared in concert for their common defence. The Marhatta General's scheme was to cross the Ganga at a certain ford in the winter season, and to fall at once upon the Rohilcund; after which he intended to proceed to the conquest of the A8d; and it was with an intent to favour such an invasion, that Umad-el-mulk, who was at the bottom of all this mighty scheme, and the real inciter of the Marhatta motions, had set out from the Capital. Meanwhile the Marhatta General crossed the Djumnah, and fell at once upon Nedjib-ed-dŏwlah's country. This Prince unable to stand the contest in the field, retired to Sukartal, a difficult post on the Ganga, where the passage of that river may be easily defended, and where he intrenched himself, resolved to stand his ground to the last. The Marhatta General encamped close to him; and for four months together, which the rainy season lasted, no other thunder was heard but that of continual discharges of cannon, rockets, and musketry, and no other lightning seen, but that of famished flaming sabres, and blood-thirsty spears; so that the earth seemed to hold a conversation with

The Marhattas set out with a firm resolution to conquer Hindostan.

the heavens(260). Meanwhile the Rohillah Princes, such as Hafyz-rahmet-qhan, and D8ndy-qhan, and Saad-ollah-qhan, took care to represent to Shudjah-ed-döwlah, "That the Marhattas "waited only for the end of the rainy season, and the sub- "siding of the Ganga, to cross that river at some ford, and fall "upon the Rohilcund, which they would either subdue or ruin "intirely; in which case it was past doubt that they would turn "their steps towards the country of A8d. That such an event "must be prevented; for that to defend a country, when the "enemy is already at your doors, is not the business in question; "remedy must be sent before the evil is arrived. March then," added they, "to our assistance, set out immediately, and make "haste to join us."

Are jointly opposed by the Rohillahs and by Shudjah-ed-dowla.

Those insinuations could not fail to make a deep impression on the mind of Shudjah-ed-dowlah, who felt how critical his situation was, and he resolved to be beforehand with the enemy. It was then the height of the rainy season, and the roads, on account of the incessant rain and the swelling of all the rivulets and brooks, had become so miry as to be impassable. Nevertheless, he set out from Lucknow, and advanced as far as Shah-abad, where he was stopped by the swelling of the Ganga, and the inundation of the country, which had rendered it impossible to approach nearer to the camp at Sukartal, so as to effect a junction. The Marhatta General hearing of Shudjah-ed-döwlah's approach, ordered one of his principal Commanders, called Govind-pandett, to cross the Ganga with twenty thousand horse and foot, and to ruin the whole Rohilcund. This officer having advanced as high as T-hac8r-d8ara(261), a spot that touches the foot of the northern mountains, forded the Ganga at that place,

(260) The rainy season in India is a season of a great deal of thunder and lightning. It begins in May, and lasts four or five months, at which time the rain pours sometimes very heavily. The quantity of rain that falls in Bengal may be ninety-two inches, besides six inches dew, which is twice as much as in Italy, and four times as much as in England.

(261) T-hac8r-d8ara signifies the Lord's Palace gate, or temple, and the title is also given to the temple of Djag-ennat, or Jagrenat, all over Bengal and India. Possibly it means here, and the author's words afford a geographical presumption of the probability of this remark, that mountain said to be cut in the form of a cow, under which the Ganga is said to pass in order to enter the plains of Hindostan. Hardevar is the town close to that passage, and the ford at that place is called T-chandy-gatt.

and spread throughout the Rohilcund, where he burned thirteen hundred villages from Chandpoor down to Amr8a; after that, he fell upon Hafyz-rahmut, Doondy-qhan, and Saad-ollah-qhan, the Rohillah Princes, who were preparing to march to Nedjib-ed-döwlah's assistance, and put them to flight. The Afghans, surprised at the suddenness of the irruption, and incapable to withstand so great a force, retreated as far as the foot of the mountains of Camä8, where they intrenched themselves in a difficult post; but Shudjah-ed-dowlah no sooner heard of this disaster, than he decamped from his post on the beginning of the first Reby, in the year 1173, and marching with the utmost rapidity, he arrived at Chandpoor over against the place where Nedjib-ed-döwlah was intrenched. It was high time. The besieged Prince, finding himself abandoned by his countrymen who were fled amongst the fastnesses of the Camä8, had despaired of being freed from his forlorn situation, and as he had already despaired of his life, he thought only how to sell it to the highest bidder, when his spirits were recruited at once by Shudjah-ed-döwlah's approach. The latter had already discovered some of the runners of the Marhatta army; but nothing more had happened, as he advanced to Holavah, which is at five cosses farther than Chandpoor. There he heard that some of his sutlers had been set upon and plundered by the enemy. On the first intelligence of this, he detached the two Commanders that were then at hand, with orders to chastise the Marhattas. These were An8b-ghir-ghossaïn, and Amrä8-ghir-ghossaïn, two Fakirs in his service, both of great character. After their departure, he got them followed by Mirza-nedjef-qhan, at the head of five thousand horse, and by Mir Bakyr-qhan-temeni, with four thousand more, all Moghuls. All these had orders to leave the plunderers to their own work, and to push for Govind-pandett's head-quarters. These officers, all eager for action, commenced by skirmishing, and the engagement growing warmer, they strewed the ground with Marhatta bodies. An8b-ghir the Ghossaïn made a great massacre amongst them, and took a hundred prisoners, and a vast booty in horses and cattle. The Marhatta General finding himself so severely handed fled from the field of battle, and with all the difficulties imaginable he found his way again to the ford, where he had some-time ago crossed the Ganga. But his confusion and that of his

followers was so great, that he mistook the part, and lost vast numbers of his people who were swallowed up by the Ganga, that insatiable crocodile of the sweet flood. The next morning, Shudjah-ed-döwlah, after having ordered his music to play in token of victory, marched forward; and the report of it having spread everywhere, reached also the Afghans, who had been hitherto lurking in the brambles at the foot of the Camäõ. It made them move from their holes, and join Shudjah-ed-döwlah. The two armies after this junction marched on to Sčkar-tal, where Nedjib-ed-döwlah was besieged, and they delivered him from the miseries he was undergoing. Nevertheless, the Afghans intimidated by the power of the Marhatta's, thought proper to send proposals for an accommodation both to Data-sindia and to Djingo. These two Generals, on the other hand, who had heard of the Abdali-Monarch's coming, and thought of providing for their own safety by advancing as far as Lahor to stop the enemy in Pendjab, were glad to hear the proposals. Data-sindia signed an agreement, which was sworn to on both sides, after which he withdrew his troops, and advanced towards Lahor. Shudjah-ed-döwlah, on his side, returned to Lucknow, where he made his entry the twenty-ninth of the first Djemady, in the year 1173.

Whilst Sindiah was besieging Nedjib-ed-dowlah at Shukar-tal, by the Vezir Umad-el-mulk's instigation, he wrote to the latter to come to his assistance. That wicked man, encumbered on one hand, by an Emperor whom he knew to be a well-wisher to Nedjib-ed-dowlah, and to hold a correspondence with the Abdali-king, and on the other, by an uncle whom he mistrusted full as much, although he actually kept him in confinement, took his party without any scruple. He resolved, first of all, to make himself easy on those two accounts, and then only to depart; and first he ordered Intyzam-ed-dowlah, his uncle, to be put to death, and three days after, he provided also for the Emperor. Having properly tutored Mehdy-aaly-qhan, the Cashmirian, he sent him to that Prince. That artful man went, and turned so well the Emperor's mind, that he engaged him to go out and pay a visit to a certain Fakyr of uncommon sanctity and character, who performed miracles, and was said to be lately landed at Firoz-shah's Mausoleum. That imbecile Prince, entrapped by the diabolical suggestions and artifices of that infernal man,

The Vezir murders both his uncle and the Emperor Aalem-guir.

took it into his head to pay incognito a visit to so extraordinary a personage. Being arrived at the spot, he was shewn a door before which hung a curtain. But he had a sword in his hand(262). The Cashmirian having taken it with one hand, lifted up the curtain with the other, and the Emperor entered the room, which the Cashmirian immediately shut up, by making the door fast from without, and then dropped the curtain. Yzzeddin's son, Mirza-babr, who was also son-in-law to the Emperor, no sooner saw these strange motions, than he drew his sabre, and wounded one or two men. But he was instantly overpowered and seized; and being put into a covered Paleky, he was sent to the apartment where the Princes of the blood are usually kept confined(263). Meanwhile the four men concealed within the room, fell upon the defenceless Emperor with their poniards, and having dispatched kim in an instant, they threw his body out, and left it stretched upon the strand of the Djumna. There he was soon stripped of his clothes, save only his drawers, in which condition he remained eighteen hours. After which time the Cashmirian above sent some people, who took up the body, and carried it to the Emperor H8mayon's Mausoleum, where they committed it to the earth.

Whilst that mournful tragedy was acting at one part of the Palace, another very different scene was passing on the other. That very day Muhi-el-senna, son to Cam-bash, and grandson to Aoreng-zib, was raised to the throne under the title of Shah-djehan, or "Emperor of the world;" and the Vezir after these executions left the Cashmirian to watch over the new Prince, and marched against Nedjib-ed-dowlah, actually besieged at Sukartal. On his way thither, he learned that a peace had been concluded to the satisfaction of both parties, and being informed at the same time that the Abdali-king was advancing by long marches, he thought proper to secure his person by getting out of his way; and taking shelter in S8r8dj-mull's county, he resolved

(262) This sword, which is longer and twice as broad as the common small swords of Europe, is always in a velvet scabbard, and held upright by the hilt, as a walking cane. It has been a mark of Sovereign power, and is still an insigne of authority, always used by persons constituted in high offices.

(263) Selimgur-Castle.—a fortification which communicates with the Citadel of Delhi by a gate, so as to be a continuation of it.

to wait there the event of the quarrel between the Abdalies and the Marhattas, and to see what new revolution it might bring about. Anxious about the event, he retired within one of the strongest of S8r8dj-mull's fortresses.

We have heretofore mentioned that the Abdali-king, after having plundered Delhi, and put every thing to the sword at Mahtra, had marched back in the year 1170, and returned to Cab8l and Candahar, his Capitals, leaving his son, Timur-shah, in the Government of M8ltan and Lahor, with the General Djehan-qhan, for his adviser. The latter sensible of his own inexperience in Government and revenue matters, and convinced how much Adina-beg-qhan must be skilled in those subjects, and of how much local knowledge he must be possessed, resolved to avail himself of that man's abilities, and he wrote him several civil letters endeavouring to sooth his mind; at last he sent him the patent as well as the Qhylaat of the province of Do-abah. Adina-beg-qhan, softened by this distinction, soon brought the province to a proper order, and the Prince and General, convinced now of his abilities, invited him over to Lahor, where they intended to avail themselves of his experience. But this invitation was not relished by the other. He mistrusted their proffers, and had objections to their neighbourhood; so that he retired again towards the mountains. And Djehan-qhan hearing of this desertion, appointed M8rad-qhan to command in the Do-abah, directing B8lend-qhan and Ser-efraz-qhan, two general officers, to support him with a body of troops. Adina-beg-qhan opposed the Syks to this new power; a set of men that had already grown numerous and powerful in the times of the late Mir-mann8, but who had since greatly benefited by the lessons and the protection they had been for a long time receiving from their tutor, Adina-beg-qhan. Incited by his exortations, those Fakirs or Mendicants become soldiers, took up arms, and being joined by a body of Adina-beg-qhan's troops, they fell upon M8rad-qhan, and gave him a battle, in which B8lend-qhan being slain, and M8rad-qhan, with Ser-efraz-qhan defeated, these two Generals fled to Lahor, and reported their case to Djehan-qhan. After this flight the Syks ruined and desolated the whole Province of the D8-abah, chiefly at the instigation of Adina-beg-qhan. At this very time there was encamped in the territory of Shah-djehan-abad a large

Troubles in M8ltan & Pendjab.

army of Marhattas, under the command of Ragonat-rão, and Shimshir-bahadyr, (two brothers of Baladji-rão) as well as under that of Holcar-malhar, and some other Commanders of character. All these tired of a camp life, and panting for action, waited with impatience for some occasion to signalize themselves; when they received several letters from Adina-beg-qhan, which requested their coming to his assistance. The Marhattas who always wish for action, and are always upon the watch for such opportunities, and always upon the move, marched immediately to Lahor. Meeting by the way Abd8l-semed-qhan, a General appointed by the Abdalies to the command of Ser-hend, they gave him a bloody defeat, and took him prisoner. From thence they advanced so rapidly to Lahor, that in a few days their runners met those of Djehan-qhan's, and had some skirmishes together. It was in Shaaban, 1171 of the Hedjrah. Djehan-qhan observing that the small number of his troops would be overpowered in a compaign by such skirmishers as the Marhattas, thought proper to retreat and to evacuate the country. He took the young Prince Timur-shah with him, and advancing by long and continual marches, he arrived on the banks of the Atuc(264), which he immediately crossed, leaving behind those treasures, and that furniture and artillery that had been amassing for ages together. The Marhattas pursued him as far as the river Chulum, and then returned, extending meanwhile their conquests and jurisdiction all over M8ltan, as far as Ghazi-qhan's valley, and as far as the rivers Chennar and Pehn. But as the rainy season was approaching, they appointed Adina-beg-qhan Governor-General of the country, under a yearly tribute of seventy-five lacs, clear of all charges, and then returned towards Shah-djehan-abad. From thence, after a short stay, both Ragonat-rão and Shimshir-bahadyr marched on towards the Decan; but Djing8 was left in the neighbourhood of Delhi, with orders to subdue the several Radjas of Adjmir. The whole scheme seemed well arranged; but by one of those unexpected dispensations of Providence, Adina-beg-qhan departed his life some months after, at the beginning of the year 1172; when Djingo conferred the Government of Serhend on Sadyc-beg-qhan, who had been one of the trustiest men in the deceased Governor's service, and that of the Döabah on

Which enable the Marhattas to extend their conquest as far as Lahor.

(264) Indus. *Look at the Note 82, Section I.*

that Governor's widow, appointing at the same time a Marhatta, called Saba, to the supreme Government of Lahor, which the new Commandant took care to extend by fresh conquests as far as the shores of the great river Atuc. Meanwhile Nedjib-ed-döwla, as well as all the Rohilla Princes, intimidated by these continual progresses of the Marhattas, concluded that their own persons and dominions must one day in the course of things be necessarily swallowed up by that overbearing power, which was constantly supported by the Vezir Umad-el-mulk's influence and intrigues. They therefore, renewed their supplications to the King of the Durrannies, and besought him to march forth to their assistance. That Prince already shocked to see how little ceremony the Marhattas had made with his son, Timur-shah, and with his Governor, Djehan-qhan, and incensed, besides, at the ingratitude of Umad-el-mulk, and at the prepetual cruelties he exercised everywhere, resolved to comply with the request. Convinced, therefore, that his arrival was ardently expected in Hindostan, he displayed his victorious standards, and turned them towards that country.

But bring on their backs the ferocious Abdalies, with their victorious King.

That Prince, setting out from Candahar, crossed the river Atuc in the beginning of the year 1173, and his vanguard meeting with Saba's vanguard, an engagement ensued, in which the Marhattas being worsted, fled to Lahor. But that General hearing that the Abdlies were advancing by long marches, and thinking his troops an undermatch to such men, he judged it expedient to decamp with his whole force, and to retreat towards Delhi; and his retreat was imitated by both Sadyc-beg-qhan himself, and by Adina-beg-qhan's widow, who both thought proper to retire to the mountains. The Abdaly-king meanwhile had taken his route by the mountains of Djamb8, where having received a noble present in money from the Radja of that country, he advanced towards Delhi; and this was the sixth expedition he had made in Hindostan. This happened at the very time when Data-sindiah was treating with Nedjib-ed-döwlah and Shudjah-ed-döwlah about a peace; and this was soon concluded. But the two parties could not yet trust each other, and were upon the move on both sides, when news reached the Marhatta camp that the Abdalies, after having subdued the country of M8ltan and Lahor, were marching to Delhi

They are opposed by the Abdali-king.

At this intelligence Data-sindiah abandoned the negotiation with Shudja-ed-dŏwlah and that whole confideracy; and turning his thoughts towards the Abdalies, he advanced against them at the head of eighty thousand horse, all old troops. As to Umad-el-mulk who had moved to Data-sindiah's assistance, he no sooner was informed of the Abdalies coming, than fearful of his being likely to be called to an account for his ingratitude and cruelties, as well as trembling for his own safety, he parted company with Data-sindiah, and took shelter in the hilly country of the Djattas, resolved not to move until the horizon should appear cleared. The Radja shewed him the utmost regard, and assigned his residence in one of the best fortresses of his dominions.

Meanwhile the Abdali was advancing with ardour from Lahor; but observing by the way that the country of Dŏabah had been so eaten up by the Marhattas in their many expeditions through it, that there remained neither grain nor forage for himself, he altered his route, and crossing the Djumnah, he marched into the Anterbid country, which we have already mentioned to be that tract of ground spreading betwixt the great rivers of Ganga and Djumnah. And as these two rivers take their sources in the mountains of Camä8, in the north of India, and after having parted company, join again at Ilahabad; the Anterbid country of course commences at the foot of those mountains, and ends at the confluence of those two rivers. On the King's crossing the Djumnah to march into the Anterbid, the Afghan Princes, Saad-oila-qhan, Ahmed-qhan-bangash, Nedjib-ed-dŏwlah, Hafyz-rahmet, and Dondi-qhan, whose dominions lie mostly betwixt those two rivers, joined together, and went in a body to pay their respects to that Monarch. The latter ordered his vanguard to march by another road, and to fall upon Data-sindiah's troops; who thinking he had to deal only with the runners of that army, commenced skirmishing, and went on in that manner, until he was pushed back by the Abdalies as far as the territory of Shah-djehan-abad, where they stopped at Badely, at which place the King having again recrossed the Djumnah; joined his vanguard, and immediately commanded a general attack. A furious battle commenced. Nothing but slaughter was to be seen; and Data-sindiah soon became sensible that after having often fought for victory, he

Battle of Badely, where the Abdali-king slays 70,000 Marhattas in one battle.

was now to fight for his life. He drew away his nephew, Djingo, from that scene of destruction, and gave him a small escort, with orders to advance into Decan in all speed, and to inform the Ministry of Satara of the state of things. Meanwhile the engagement becoming so close as to render horses of no use, he alighted with the greatest part of his troops, and fought on foot. The Abdalies continued pressing on all sides; and with their rockets and heavy muskets soon came to pour an intolerable fire upon those thronged multitudes; and as they gave no quarter, the whole of that mighty army of Marhattas, together with their General, Data-sindiah, and every Commander, without exception, perished in that bloody battle; and the whole was devoured by the inflamed sabre. This battle was fought at Badely, in the second month, Djemady, of the year 1173; a date which the Poet Mir-gh8lam-aaly, the Belgramite, has ingeniously conserved in these verses of his:

"The Durrani-king having given the whole Marhatta host
"For food to his inflamed devouring sabre,
"The Poet has thus conserved the chronogram of this date:
"The victory became the lot of the illustrious King."

The whole Marhatta army having disappeared from the field of battle together with Data-sindiah, its General, the Duranni-king sent people after Djingo, but the latter had, the very day of the battle, marched fifteen cosses(265), and was arrived at Allah-verdy's Sera, quite spent; from whence he, the next day, continued his route to Narnol. Meanwhile intelligence came to the Abdali-camp that the Marhatta, Holcar-malhar, was at Sekenderah with an army. This General hearing of the destruction of their grand army, marched with the utmost expedition into the strong country of S8r8dj-mull, the Djatt, to whom he proposed to join him, and to fight together the Durrani-king. The Gentoo Prince answered that he would not undertake to oppose such troops as the Abdalies, in the field; but that if he was attacked, he would retire to a fortress, and there defend himself in the best manner he could. It happened that the Afghan Princes who had come to the Durrani camp, were then busy in carrying a convoy of treasure and grain to that army; but hearing of the Marhattas being so near, they had the prudence

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(265) Thirty-four miles.

to send back, and beyond the Ganga, as much of their convoy as they could with propriety. But the rest was overtaken by Holcar's troops, who soon took possession of it and plundered it thoroughly. The King surprised to hear of this boldness of the Marhattas, sent Shah Pesend-qhan and Shah Calende-qhan, two of his Generals, with a body of fifteen thousand horse to chastise Holcar-malhar. These two Abdalies marched with so much expedition, that in one day and night they measured seventy cosses (one hundred and sixty miles), and arrived in the evening at Delhi; where having refreshed themselves the whole next day, they crossed the Djumnah at the beginning of the night, and having marched twenty cosses more that night, they at day-break arrived at Sekenderah, where they fell at once upon Holkar-malhar. The latter had just time to throw himself, naked as he was, upon a mare, and to get away with about five hundred more in the same condition as himself. The rest, officers and soldiers, without excepting a man, were put to the sword, and intirely exterminated, a few prisoners only excepted. Their whole camp, together with their late booty, fell into the hands of the victors.

Another bloody action, in which the Marhattas are destroyed.

Meanwhile the King, who had moved from his camp the very day he had detached his two Generals after the Marhattas, arrived at Shah-djehan-abad; and as the rainy season was at hand, and the territory of that Capital had been eaten up by the eternal inroads of those freebooters, he thought proper to cross the Djumnah, and to take up his winter quarters at Sekenderah, twenty cosses from Delhi, a position the more eligible, as Sekenderah is in the country of Anterbid, where most of the Afghan Princes had their dominions. From thence he detached Nedjib-ed-dowlah to Lucknow with orders to persuade Shudjah-ed-dowlah to join the victorious army, and to pay him a visit, as he wished to see him. Shudjah-ed-dowlah, who had already that intention, advanced to meet him as far as Mehdypoor, whilst Nedjib-ed-dowlah on his side marched from Atava to Cannodj. A treaty was concluded, proper assurances given and Shudjah-ed-dowlah, having appointed his son, Mirza-amani, (now Assef-ed-dowlah) to act as his Deputy in his absence, put himself at the head of ten thousand horse, and marched to the Abdalie's camp, in company with Nedjib-ed-dowlah. It was at the end of

Zilcaadah, of the year 1173. As soon as he was near, Eshref-el-anvar, surnamed Shah-c8ly-qhan(266), Vezir to the Abdaly-king, came out to meet him, and after a small pause, he carried him to visit the tent of audience. The King having commanded his son, Tim8r-shah, to embrace the Indian Prince, received him with the utmost favour and distinction(267). At the end of the visit Shudjah-ed-döwlah requested leave for his music and kettle-drums to play in the Abdalie's camp. The King answered mildly that it was unprecedented and contrary to rules. *"It may "be so for other music,* replied *Shudjah-ed-döwlah, but mine "is the gift of the Emperor of Hindostan, and not of your "Majesty's; nor am I your subject, but only your hearty well-"wisher."* This bold answer had its effect. The King consented, and it became a custom for Shudjah-ed-döwlah's music to strike up as soon as that of the King's had done playing.

Shudjah waits on the Abdali Monarch—his bold answer to that Prince.

Whilst all this was happening in the Anterbid, the Court of Satara had received intelligence of Data-sindiah's death, and of the destruction of his whole army, as well as of that of Holcar. Never did a Ministry shew more firmness. Without betraying the least dismay, it was resolved to send another army, commanded by Seda-sy8, *alias* Bahä8, nephew to Baladji-räo, and by Djing8 himself. This army was to be composed of picked men, as was the former, and proved still more numerous; and it was likewise to be supported by a numerous artillery, mounted and served in the European manner, under the command of Hibrahim-qhan-gardi. The whole was to be under the orders of Vasvass-räo, Commander-in-Chief; the intention being to revenge their former bloody defeat, to recover the honour of the national character in the world, and to put an end to the Empire of the family of Babr, by raising to the throne of Hindostan Vasvass-räo himself, a Royal Prince, of the Marhatta blood. Seda-sy8 having put himself at the head of that mighty host, arrived, after long marches and much vaunting, in the province of Acbar-abad, where S8r8dj-mull thought proper to pay him a visit by Holcar-

(266) The King's soldier or slave;—for the word C8l in Turkish admits both those significations, although it rather inclines to the first.

(267) It is observable that Shudjah-ed-döwlah was not received as an equal, for the Monarch would have been obliged to stand up and to embrace him; neither as a subject, for there is no mention of any Nazur being presented; but as an independent Prince of inferior rank; and therefore he got him embraced by his son.

malhar's mediation. The Marhatta General, to do him more honour, marched out of his camp, and met him at one cosse distance; and the next day Umad-el-mulk himself joined him at Mahtra. In a consultation held at that spot, it was resolved to render themselves masters of the Djumnah, by bringing Shah-djehan-abad in their power. This article being settled, the Marhatta General marched immediately, and entered Shah-djehan-abad, at the end of the year 1173. Yac8b-aaly-qhan-behmenzi, a brother of Shah Veli-qhan, commanded in the citadel with a small garrison of Abdalies. The Marhattas informed of the smallness of that force, gave an escalade at the Assed Tower and the Qhyzri Gate, whilst they made a false attack on the opposite side at the Delhi Gate. At both places a few Abdalies and Moghuls made their appearance, and killed many people with their large muskets. The Marhatta General, who had taken his quarters in Saad-ollah qhan's Palace, commenced another attack from thence, under cover of the hall of audience, encouraged thereto by the scanty defence he could perceive at the wall, and the little artillery he observed at Selimgur Castle, from whence they now and then fired a large cannon in the air. Animated by these appearances, the Marhattas advanced to the Qhyzri Gate, and were endeavouring to break it open, but in vain. The gate was covered with sheets of brass, and set thick with iron nails that jutted out to the length of more than a foot(268); nor could they make any impression there in four hours time. Meanwhile about five hundred men, finding not one man upon the Assed Tower, got upon the top of it, and being in this manner within the citadel, they advanced to the Imperial Hall of Audience, from whence they carried whole bundles of booty which they threw down the wall to their friends below, without having once thought of setting the gate open from within; nor did the troops without mind anything of the matter, being intent only on receiving and securing the plunder. Whilst these people were occupied in this manner, a dozen of Abdalies and Moghuls, coming out of

The Marhattas undismayed, send another mighty army into Hindostan, commanded by a young Prince of the blood.

(268) It must be observed that gates in India, being always covered by some work, cannot be broke but by a petard, a machine which the natives know nothing of; or by pushing against them elephants barded with iron; or by setting fire to them. Hence the propriety of those long nails, jutting out from a bottom of brass. The nails are one inch square at the bottom.

Selimghur, fired upon those men that were plundering the Hall of Audience, many of whom they killed; and falling upon the rest, sword in hand, they drove them out of the palace. The Marhattas having taken fright, got upon the top of the tower again, and jumping down had a great number of men maimed and wounded; but meanwhile they gave up a fortress in which they had fairly found entrance. The Marhatta Generals informed of this whole affair, surrounded the citadel by an intrenchment, from whence they commenced firing on all that appeared upon the wall. As to Umad-el-mulk and S8r8dj-mull, who both had only conformed to the times in coming so far with the Marhattas, they thought proper to remain inactive spectators of this siege. In this state of things Seda-sy8 applied to Hibrahim-qhan-gardi, who had a European artillery, mounted and served in the European manner, and whom he had brought from Decan for such sorts of services. Hibrahim-qhan placed three pieces of cannon on the bank of the Djumnah, and made such a brisk fire upon the buildings within the citadel, that in a little time he was found to have done much havoc in the pavilions on the Assed Tower, and the Octagon Tower, as well as on those parts of the Imperial Palace called Divan-qhass, Reng-mahal, Moti-mahal(269), and Royal Tower. But the wall itself suffered no impression; and the musket-firing business went on as usual on both sides. The Governor finding that his ammunition was running short, proposed to surrender the citadel, on condition of his having leave to march out with safety of life, honour, and baggage; and this being accepted by the Marhatta Generals who wished no better, the Governor came out with his little garrison, and took up his quarters in Aaly-merdan-qhan's Palace, where having rested awhile, he crossed the Djumnah in boats, and went to join his master. And thus the Imperial Citadel the residence of the Hindostanee Emperors, with the Imperial apartments and the whole of the Imperial Seraglio, fell into the hands of the Marhatta Seda-sy8. Such was the fate allotted to it by the All-knowing Disposer of events! The General appointed Tar8-shungur, a Brahman, to command in that fortress, and he gave him a sufficient garrison. This Brahman

The Marhattas take Delhi.

(269) Divan-qhass, Reng-mahal, Moti-mahal.—The private hall of audience,—the painted apartment,—the pearl apartment.

had been sent several times to Shudjah-ed-dŏwlah, on the part of the Marhattas, with proposals of peace, and as often had been refused. This particular I was told of by the Poet Mir-gh8lam-aaly, the Belgramite, who assured me that Shudjah-ed-dŏwlah at last answered the envoy in these terms: "*That the* "*Marhattas, and especially their Brahmans*(270), *having* "*acquired so much power in Decan, had become overbearing, and* "*withal so covetous, that they could not bear that any one but* "*themselves should enjoy any character in the world, or a* "*corner of land that might afford him a subsistence; that* "*their faithlessness and eternal disregard to treaties, had* "*tired the patience of mankind; and that the time was now* "*coming to punish them for their eternal injustices, and their* "*daily violations of the most sacred ties amongst mankind.* "*That it was to save their honour, their families, and their* "*subsistences, that the people of Hindostan had applied to the* "*Abdaly-king for protection and assistance; and that the* "*latter had come for that sole purpose, and in the full hope* "*that to inflict a condign chastisement upon the Marhattas* "*would prove but a small affair; to talk, therefore, of peace* "*now to him looked quite preposterous.*" The Marhattas, receiving no better answer, prepared for battle. They were at this time abandoned by their ally, S8radj-mull, the Djatt, who was shocked to see their shameless capacity, and remorseless impudence. He quitted their camp without leave and retired to his fortress of Belem-gur. What had so much shocked the Djatt Prince was this.--They had stripped the Imperial Hall of Audience of its wainscoting, which was of silver, elegantly enamelled, and had sent it to the Mint; and without any respect for things, held sacred by all mankind, they had laid their sacrilegious hands upon the gold and silver vessels consecrated to the use of the monument of the sacred foot, and of the mausoleum of Saint Nizam-eddin; nor did they spare Mahmed-shah's

Proposes an accommodation, which is refused in a very taunting answer.

(270) This distinction made by Shudjah-ed-dŏwlah was grounded on this particular: that the original, but yet only the nominal Sovereign, of the Marhatta Empire is a Radjp8t that resides at Satara, and is styled the Sah8-radja, whereas the real, or if you will, the acting Emperor, who is of the Brahmanical or Sacredotal tribe, resides at P8nah, at two short days north-west of Satara, and is often styled his nana, or maternal uncle, although he goes in general by the name of his Pish-va, or Precursor, that is, his agent.

mausoleum, which they stripped of its incensory(271), candelabres, lamps, and other utensils, all of solid gold, and of exquisite workmanship; all of which were torn away and sent to the Mint.

After having done all this havoc, the Marhatta General resolved to decamp. The Doāb occupied by an army, did not afford him any prospect of subsistence, and everything in the territory of the Capital was eaten up and consumed. He was urged doubtless by the necessity of assembling and enjoying all the merits of those pious and meritorious actions which he had performed in that unfortunate Capital, by stripping it of its sacred ornaments, and by plundering the nobility and people of what little they had saved from the hands of former ravagers. Resolved to quit that neighbourhood, he deposed and confined that pageant of an Emperor, Shah-djehan, and placed in his stead Mirza-djuvan-baqht(272), son to Aaly-goher, the fugitive Prince, who was then enduring distresses, and waging war in Bengal. The Vezirship he conferred on Shudjah-ed-dowlah, pluming himself upon what he thought a piece of policy very likely to embroil the latter with the Abdaly-king. This done, he confirmed Tar8-shungar in the government of the citadel, and marched with his whole army to Cundj-p8ra, where the two Zemindars of that tract, Abdol-semed-qhan, the Abdali, and Nedjabet-qhan, the Rohillah, were encamped with commission to provide convoys for the Abdali-king's army. This Abdol-semed-qhan is the same who fell in the hands of the Marhattas when commanding at Ser-hend, and had found means to escape; he commanded then in the mud-fort. It was in the second Rebi of the year 1174. Sedäsy8 being arrived before that fort, surrounded immediately. As his European artillery enabled him to do a great deal of execution in a little time, Hibrahim-qhan-gardi soon made a breach, and an assault being given, both Abdol-semed-qhan and C8t8b-qhan were slain, and the place was thoroughly plundered

(271) The text has the words Ood-dan, a vessel for burning agalla wood, which last is a resinous wood, that sells for twice its weight in silver. It is observable that in the tomb and vault, opened about the year 1766, by Captain Adams, at Gour, that immense Capital of Bengal, he found such another vessel at the foot of a Royal body, perfectly well preserved for four hundred years, with two vessels for beetle or paun, and some arms and lamps, &c.

(272) These two words signify of a *youthful fortune*.

and sacked. The Abdali-king hearing of this piece of cruelty done almost within his sight, was equally surprised and incensed; an alteration was observed in his colour. Resolved to chastise the Marhattas, he decamped, and although the rainy season was not at an end, and the Djumnah did not yet afford any ford, nevertheless he marched, and under Shudjah-ed-dōwlah's guidance he advanced to the passage of Baqhshäiet, which is close under the walls of Shah-djehan-abad; and advancing on horseback in the water, he was followed by his whole cavalry, some fording the river, and others swimming over. His numerous army took the hint, and found means to follow with all their baggage. Seda-sy8, surprised at his daringness, and at the quickness of the Abdalies, conceived that instead of fighting them at C8ndj-p8ra, as had been his intention, it would be better to reconnoitre for two or three days together, in order to encamp at a commodious post near to Panip8t. At this time he had no less than forty thousand effective horse, all old soldiers and picked men; but this was only the army under his own particular command, for there were three other armies, severally commanded by Holcar-malhar, Shimshir-bahadyr, and the Prince of the blood, Vasvass-rāo, which last was also the Commander-in-Chief. All these were exceedingly assuming, and so proud of their past victories, as to make no account of any troops but those immediately under their own command; and every one of them seemed to reach with his forehead to the cupola of the third heaven. We must also mention Hibrahim-qhan-gardi, who commanded twelve thousand Sepahies, armed with flint-muskets, besides some artillery mounted and served in the European manner; he belonged in particular to Seda-sy8. But what is singular, with all these numerous troops and with all their boasting, as soon as Seda-sy8's troops began to feel the pulse of the Abdalies in a few skirmishes, they conceived themselves to be an undermatch for them; and, contrary to the Marhatta custom, and to their usual method of warfare, their Generalissimo retired beyond Panip8t, where he surrounded his army with his baggage, round which he planted his cannon; and this was so very numerous that his intrenchment might have borne the appellation of a wall that vomited fire and flames. Not satisfied with that, he added another intrenchment, made up of the earth of a fossé which he ordered to be dug up immediately.

And it was hardly finished, when the victorious army of the Abdalies came up, and spread everywhere round the Marhatta intrenchment; so that every day there was some engagement in which cannon with muskets and rockets, and arrows with sabres and spears, were continually brought to action, and continually held conversation together; and every day produced a deal of bloodshed. But the worst of it was, that the Abdalies, eternally roaming round the Marhatta intrenchment, did not suffer a corn of grain or a blade of grass to find its way thither; insomuch that nothing being brought to the Marhatta camp, this nation experienced for the first time the horrors of want, and learned from experience what it was that the world called distress and famine. For every part of their camp was blocked up and besieged, save their rear, which was open towards Lahor, and this too, the Abdalies found means to infest, having taken two or three convoys that were coming from thence. The Abdali-king seeing that the enemies chose rather to suffer the hardships of distress than to quit their intrenchment, resolved to give a general assault. It was the twenty-eighth of the second Rebi, in the year 1174. Djehan-qhan and Shah-pesend-qhan, with Nedjib-ed-dowlah, were to lead the van; Shudjah-ed-döwlah and Ahmed-qhan-bangash, with the other three Rohilla Princes, were to head the main; and the King himself, with his Vezir, Veli-qhan, surnamed Eshref-el-anvar, brought up the corps de reserve. The Marhattas, on seeing this disposition, came out of their intrenchment and took their post a little farther, at full one arrow's throw in the plain. The combat became furious at once, and a continual slaughter took place between the two parties, from midday as far as the evening; so that there remained but one hour of sun-shine, when the Rohillahs, under Nedjib-ed-dowlah broke through a furious storm of muskets and rockets, and penetrated on foot within the intrenchment, where they commenced fighting with hand-blows. In this action Belvent-räo, nephew to Seda-sy8, and his right arm in everything, being struck by a musket-ball, fell dead from his horse; and the engagement would have been final, had not the night fallen upon the combatants, and by throwing her sable veil between them, put it out of their power to distinguish the friend from the foe. The Rohillahs after distinguishing themselves in so

Bloody actions between the Marhattas and the Abdalies.

glorious a manner, came out of the intrenchment, and returned to their camp. It was after this furious engagement that intelligence came that Govind-pandett, a Marhatta General, at the head of ten or twelve thousand horse, was coming from Atava, with a large convoy of treasure and provisions; that he was already at Shah-dera, in the highroad over against Shah-djehanabad; and that his intention was, first of all, to plunder Mahtra, and some other dependencies of Nedjib-ed-döwlah, and then to cross the Djumnah at C8ndj-p8ra, from whence he expected to join Seda-sy8's army. The King informed of all these particulars, dispatched Atäi-qhan, and the son of the late Abdolsemed-qhan, with five thousand horse, in hopes of their intercepting the convoy. The two Generals departed immediately, and crossing the Djumnah at the ford of Agra and Bacshaïet they advanced to Shah-dera, where having put to the sword Tar8-shungur, the Governor, with his whole garrison, they proceeded to Ghazi-eddin-nagur, a town at six cosses only from the Capital, and there also they put to the sword a body of Marhattas stationed on purpose to meet the convoy. Continuing their march with the utmost rapidity, they arrived at the very spot where Govind-pandett was just arrived, and falling upon him at once, they destroyed him and his whole army. After this rapid execution they cut his head, and taking possession of the convoy, they returned to the Abdaly camp. This Govind-pandett is the same man, who, having been detached from the camp at Sukur-tal, had crossed the Ganga, and ruined so much country, and had fled back again, after having received a severe check from Shudjah-ed-döwlah. This massacre happened the 29th of the second Djemady, in the year 1174.

Meanwhile the blockade of the Marhatta camp continued, and the besieged commenced to suffer from the immondices of all sorts, in which it necessarily abounded. The smell became insupportable; famine was already felt; numbers of poor people were daily swept away, totally famished; and a mortality also, the constant result of famine and uncleanness was committing its ravages. Hundreds of people dropped down every day. In this extremity the besieged Generals consulted together, and it was unanimously agreed to, "That as the army was consuming "itself with famine and mortality, it was better, whilst their

The Marhattas blockaded in their camp, come to a pitched battle.

"bodily strength was yet unimpaired, to march out and fight the "enemy, be the event what it would." With this resolution they marched out. It was on a Thursday, the sixth of the second Djemady, in the year 1174 of the Hedjrah. Hibrahim-qhan-gardi marched at the head with his artillery; the rest of the army followed in order, and advanced with a slow pace towards the Abdali-camp, where the troops were mounted and ready, but where they had orders to let the Marhattas advance farther within the plain. They advanced in effect, filling the air with cries of Hari-Har, and their Moghul cavalry advanced to a skirmish with the enemy, but they were terribly handled by the Abdali van, commanded by Shudjah-ed-döwlah, by Nedjib-ed-döwlah, and by many other illustrious Commanders, whose flaming sabres had long thirsted after their prey. These having called to their assistance the Divine Disposer of victories advanced upon the enemy, whose Moghul skrimishers and Marhatta light cavalry, unable to bear a well directed fire made by the Rohillahs armed with heavy muskets, were thrown into confusion, and forced to retreat within the intrenchment; here the runaways mixing with the troops stationed there, communicated their disorder, and carried them away in their flight. Seda-sy8 and Vasvass-räo, without taking much notice of the disorder in camp, advanced to the charge, with drawn sabres, and spears couched; and falling upon Shudjah-ed-döwlah and Nedjib-ed-döwlah, a warm engagement ensued, in which the air was filled, and the Abdali army deafened, with their war-cry of *Harri-Har*(273). The two Hindostany Princes advanced to the encounter, supported by the Abdali-king in person, who fought at the head of his troops, and exhibited amazing proofs of personal prowess. Under the eyes of such a General, every one exerted himself to the utmost. A furious engagement took place, and for full two hours there arose such a cloud of dust that none of the combatants could distinguish the earth from the heavens. From mid-day to four o'clock nothing could be heard, or seen, but a furious slaughter which was going

(273) We are told that these words signify *God*, and *Maha Deoo*, the Great Saint or the first man. Might not these words amount to a general confession in the mouth of soldiers going to the charge? For it is observable that the Gentoos, who always bathe or purify themselves in the morning, never fail several times to repeat the word *Hara*, which signifies both *I have lost* and *I have sinned*.

on at an incredible rate. At that time only, the dust having subsided a little, a whole field was discovered interspersed with an infinite number of Marhattas, who had all set out in company for the region of Nothingness. They were led thither by Vass-vass-rão, the heir of the Marhatta Empire, a Prince yet in the bloom of youth and beauty, who fell by a musket-ball, and Seda-sy8, the principal General, with his bravest officers, closed the rear of that departed army. The corps de reserve was brought up by Djingo, the brave Djingo! who that day said farewell to his existence. The rest of the Generals followed promiscuously, with all their officers and soldiers: and it was in that order that this departed army at once presented itself on the frontiers of eternity. Hibrahim-qhan-gardi was taken prisoner, and for a while suffered to enjoy the pleasure of having escaped the general massacre, when an order came for his being beheaded, and that man who had made so much noise in the world, plunged at once into the abyss of eternity(274). The field of battle looked like a tract sown with tulips, and as far as the sight could extend, nothing could be discovered but bodies stretched at the foot of bodies, as if they had been asleep, or marshalled by art. After the battle, two and twenty thousand women, girls, and children of both sexes, some of them persons of distinction and related to the most illustrious of the slain, were distributed amongst the victorious, who plundered an incredible quantity of money, jewels, and fine stuffs, nor is there coming at any computation of the mighty sum. The whole of that numerous artillery, with two hundred thousand oxen and cows, fifty thousand horses, five hundred large elephants, and an infinity of camels and mules, fell into the hands of the victorious. The date of this mighty victory has been conserved in the chronogram of the following quartrain, by the care of the illustrious Poet Mir-g8lam-aaly, of Belgram, the same who composed the chronogram on the victory over of Data-sindhia. It is as follows:—

Battle of Penip8t, where 80,000 Marhattas are destroyed.

"The valiant King has put to the sword Seda-sy8, as he has already done Data,
"He has finished his campaign, as he has commenced it, by a memorable victory,
"And the querulous reed of the Poet has again sung:
"The D8rrani-king has again gained the victory!"

(274) It was to punish him as an apostate, who although a Mussulman himself, fought against Mussulmen in an army of infidels.

Some thousands of Marhattas, who had escaped the sword, and were rambling about without any Commanders, were attacked by the peasants, who, incited not only by that cowardly disposition which is innate with their vile nature, but also by the remembrance of what they had suffered from those freebooters, did not spare them, but began plundering, stripping, and killing as many as they could come at. Shimshir-bahadyr, half-brother to Baladji-räo, by a dance-woman, was by the assistance of a body of plunderers, ferried over the stream that parts this world from eternity; and this being the last of the Commanders of character among the Marhattas, it may be said that not one of them escaped with life. Amongst the inferior officers, only Petil-mahadji-sindiah and Holcar-malhar found means to get off; the latter, after an infinity of adventures, contrived to reach Malva, from whence he proceeded to P8nah, *to be the harbinger of disastrous tidings.* Baladji-räo, amazed at so shameful and bloody a defeat, would not survive it. He pined away with sorrow and discontent, and in five months and a few days after, he went to join his son and brother. Some days before this battle, a certain saint of theirs, called Sad-dë8, but surnamed Dudjutt, who resided at Aoreng-abad, went in haste to join his prototype, as if to shew his followers, then in the field, the way to the regions of hell.

It ought to be remarked, that Baladji-räo, some days before his death, had directed that the shares, usually allowed to the washerman, the writer, the barber, the carpenter, the plough-smith, and some others, upon the crop raised in each village, should be seized for his use, which, in so extensive an Empire, amounted to no inconsiderable sum. But Providence, that watchful mother of the injured, did not suffer him to enjoy the fruits of his covetousness; for he died at a time when this regulation had not extended to the distant parts of his dominions.

O! ye powerful, that injure the innocent,
How long is your reign likely to last?

The Abdali-king, after so important a victory, gave some repose to his army, and then marched into the territory of Delhi, where he spent a few days, and where he bestowed the Empire of Hindostan on Shah-aalam, *alias* Aaly-goher; the office of Vezir, on Shudjah-ed-döwlah; and the dignity of Prince

of Princes on Nedjib-ed-dôwlah. He recommended them to each other, exhorted them to union and concord, and ordered that Nedjib-ed-dôwlah should reside in Shah-djehan-abad to take care of Mirza-djuvan-baqht's person, with injunctions to send as soon as possible for Shah-aalem, his father, who was then waging war in Bengal. He likewise sent for Shudjah-ed-dôwlah, and recommended him to be submissive to Shah-aalem, whom he was to bring over and assist with all his might. After this injunction, he made him a present of his own arms, with a horse and a superb qhylaat, and dismissed him to his principality. The Monarch, after having dispatched some other business, which detained him as far as the sixteenth of Shaaban, quitted the gardens of Shaleh-mar, in the environs of Delhi, and set out for Candahar by continual marches, leaving by the way a Deputy-Governor at Lahor. It was in the year 1174.

The victorious Abdali-monarch retires to dominions,

After his departure Shudjah-ed-döwlah set out for A8d in the blessed month of Ramazan, and he was advancing by continual marches, when there happened an event that deserves to be mentioned. One of his friends, called Sëid Saleh, surnamed the Veridic, who was then with him, used to recount to me that, as Shudjah-ed-döwlah was advancing to join the Abdali-king, he met, about the town of Secandarah, a detachment of a kind of men different from the Marhattas, (these last having made their appearance only three or four months after) and had an engagement with them; but my friend having occasion to pass that way sometime after, he found the plain covered with bodies half eaten or rotten, amongst which he was surprised to see a body which seemed to be betwixt twenty-five and thirty. It had on a large pair of whiskers, a beard close shaved, with a clean hangreca upon its back, and shewed a freshness of complexion quite exempt from any putrefaction My friend was then with Mollah, or Doctor Abbass, the Mazenderanian, and three or four others, who were as much amazed as himself. Nine months after, when Shudjah-ed-döwlah was returning to his dominions after having taken leave of the Abdali-king, the army chanced to pass again over that same field, at which time my friend had an opportunity of looking over that plain again, where amongst a quantity of bones with which he was amazed to see again that same young man, with his clothes on, and the body

Singular appearance of a young man, slain.

as entire as ever, without its having lost either beard or whiskers Mollah Abbass, astonished at what he saw, exclaimed that this young man surely must have been a Sëyd(275), and sending for some pioneers, as the army was so near, he ordered a fosse to be made for him. Some of the by-standers, who had winding sheets(276) in their bags, wanted to strip the young man, and to put a winding sheet about him. But this was objected to by the Mollah, who observed that the body must be left unstripped, as the clothes it had on were its proper winding sheet. This being agreed to, they all joined in prayers, and then committed it to the earth.

"Who could guess that in the depths of the sea,
"A cornelian should be found close to a heap of pebbles?"

To return to our narrative. Shuqjah-ed-döwlah, without tarrying at Lucknow, came out and marched down to Sëyd-p8r, close to Benares, as we have already mentioned in a former volume, whilst Shah-aalem himself was quitting the neighbourhood

(275) The good Mollah was a partial observer, or no observer at all. There are thousands of such spots in India, which being impregnated strongly with salt-petre and other salts, will preserve a body fresh, and we have seen a French drunkard, dug up by chance, quite ruddy and blue, after being buried full ninety days

(276) There is so much difference betwixt the European and the Persian notions, (which last in general give the ton to the Hindostanics), that those men that are so provident with their winding sheets, as to carry them to camp, never think of making a will, and by much the greatest part of them die intestate. However, every kind of cotton will not do for a Persian or an Indian, easy in his circumstances. It must be a piece of stuff that has been rubbed, not to the Prophet's tomb, or to that of Hassen, his grandson's (which are both at Medina), but to Hussein's tomb, which is at Kerbelah near Bagdad; he, and not his father, nor brother, nor grandfather, being the idol of the nation; for Aaly is only their God. Some of these keffens or winding sheets are written all over with the whole Coran in characters of sandal-dust mixed with water, and cost from two or three hundred, to a thousand, and two thousand rupees; and we protest, upon honor, that we know many a man that has defrauded his creditors to procure such a keffen, and more than one virtuous matron, who on getting up from a severe illness, has become complaisant over and over in order to procure such a passport, and on finding it at a higher price than she had thought, prostituted her virgin daughter into the bargain, to make up the necessary sum for such an omnipotent purchase. "At last, Madame," said her astonished suitor, "my stars have worked your consent—after four years' "solicitation I have the happiness to see you." "Do not rejoice so much, sir," replied the lady. "Accursed be she that would have listened to your messages; but "for the illness I have had, and the absolute necessity of providing for my salvation—I may die"—and here her tears interrupted her voice.

of Azim-abad to come to the same town. There Shudjah-ed-dōwlah having paid his respects to the Prince, took him to Djo8sy, over against Ilah-abad, where he threw a bridge of boats upon the Ganga, and crossed over with him on the fifth Zilhidj of that same year; after which he encamped at Ilah-abad, which he made the centre of his victorious standards. From thence he advanced to Djadj8, where he took up his winter quarters. In a few days he turned away all the Marhatta collectors, and established throughout the whole Anterbid Shah-aalem's government; after which, as soon as the rainy season was over, he decamped on the sixth of the second Rebi, in the year 1175, and marched to Calpy, after having appointed his favourite Minister, Beni-bahadyr, for his Deputy all over his dominions. From Calpy, which he took out of the hands of the Marhattas, he carried the Emperor beyond the Djumnah, where he took some rest at the fort of Djehansi, and as the Marhatta Governor refused to surrender, he was forced to it, after his fort had been battered for some time. Hitherto Shudjah-ed-dōwlah had acted as a Vezir, but he had not yet received the investiture of that high office. This ceremony took place on the twenty-first of that month, at which time he received from the Emperor a qhylaat of seven pieces, with four plates of jewels and gems, and these were followed by a chaplet of pearls which was thrown over his neck, whilst he was presented with the casket of Vezir, which was of gold, studded with jewels. Three days after, his son, Mirza-amani, was honoured with the superintendence of the Ghōsl-qhana, or of the private apartments. Nor is it our intention to say nothing more of this Prince; but it becomes necessary at present, that we should attend for a while to the affairs of Decan.

Shudjah-ed-dōwlah appointed Vezir to Shah-aalem.

We have already mentioned that Baladji-räo having pined away in despair for the destruction of his armies, had gone to join his brother and his eldest son. The Crown, therefore, devolved to his youngest son, Mad8-räo, then a child, as did the management of affairs, to his brother, Ragonat-räo. This happened at the end of the year 1174. The next year his neighbour, Nizam-aaly-qhan, now surnamed the second Nizam-el-mulk, expecting to make his profit of that minority, put himself with his brother, Selabet-djung, at the head of a numerous army; and for some secret reasons which have not transpired, he set out from the

Fortress of Beder, where he had been for sometime encamped, and marched directly to Aoreng-abad. But he was prevented by Ragonat-rao, who taking the young Mad8-rao with him, quitted P8nah at the head of a numerous army, and marched to Shahgur, where the two armies came in sight of each other; and much skirmishing took place for several days, when Nizam-aaly, leaving his heavy baggage and other impedements at Aoreng-abad, set out with a firm intention to push for P8nah. It was the 23rd of that month, in the same year. The Marhattas threw themselves in his way, but he led them, beating over and over as far as within seven cosses distance from that Capital. There was in his way a town called T8tea, upon the shore of the Ganga of Decan(277), a place that contained a Gentoo temple, extremely revered, and where the Marhattas had raised many noble buildings. These he levelled with the ground, breaking the idol itself to pieces, and he was going to serve P8na in the same manner, when a defection appeared in his army. For Mir-moghol, surnamed Nassyr-el-mulk, sixth son of Nizam-el-mulk's, having conceived some disgust against his brothers, joined his concerns with Radjah Ram-chunder, a Commander of importance in Nizam-aaly's army, and both departed and joined the Marhattas. This officer was shocked at the little regard shewn to the Gentoo temple, and thought his conscience concerned. This defection happened the twenty-seventh of the first Djemady, of the year 1174. The Gentoo Commander carried his whole brigade with him, and it was a numerous one. After this junction, matters altered considerably; and the Marhattas, who had the worst all along this campaign, now spread themselves round the Mussulman army on the very next day, and commenced a furious cannonade. This kind of warfare not pleasing the valorous and the zealous in Nizam-aaly's army, they advanced beyond their own artillery, and proceeded to hand-blows; when mixing with those men that fought at a distance, they stretched vast numbers of them in the field of battle,

Nizam-aaly avails himself of these broils to force the Marhattas to a very advantageous treaty

(277) This Ganga (and that word signifies only River in the old Hind8 language) is also called Godaveri. It passes at Radjmenderi, and empties itself in the Bay of Bengal by several mouths, the principal of which are that of Narsapoor and that of Indjiram. It may be observed, that the Generic word *Gang* is that which has been given a Greek termination to *Gang-es*. The Godaveri as well as the Krishna are as much revered in Decan, as the Ganges is in Bengal.

amongst which were several relations of both Madh8-rão and Ragonat-rão, which latter fought on foot that day. The Marhattas, sensible now that they were an undermatch for their enemies, thought proper to retreat, and to encamp at a distance, in order to consult together. They found that all their efforts had hitherto availed nothing, and that the enemy was now at seven cosses from P8nah, which he intended to set on fire; and if that comes to pass, said they, what are we fighting for? They were also much affected by a deputation of the inhabitants of P8nah, who asked them, *whether they intended to see their habitations on fire, and to deliver their children and families to the Mussulmen?* The Marhattas greatly affected by this remonstrance, as well as by their own situation, sent Ambassadors to Nizam-aaly, to treat of an accommodation. Nizam-aaly consented, and sold them a peace for several Districts, which they ceded to him from the Provinces of Aoreng-abad and Beder, to the amount of twenty-seven lacs a year. This treaty took place the sixth of the second Djemady, just one year after the Abdalies had gained that memorable victory over the Marhattas. Nizam-aaly, after so advantageous a peace, marched back to his Capital, and by the way he turned towards Ramchunder's country to punish him for his desertion. That whole tract was given up for plunder to the army, and it was completely ravaged and ruined. The rainy season setting in at this time, (and this was about the fourteenth of Zilhidj, in the year 1175) he took up his winter quarters at Beder, and that same day he confined in the citadel his brother Selabet-djung: a confinement in which he lived fifteen months; after which death came to his relief, and having delivered him from the confinement of his prison, it carried his soul to the spacious plains of eternity, where it let it loose. His body was buried in a corner of the Mausoleum of Shah-mahmed-m8ltani. Whilst Nizam-aaly was at Beder, he received from Aaly-goher, now styled Shah-aalem, the Qhylaat of the Government of the whole Decan, vacant by the demise of Selabet-djung, the Lord of the Kingdoms. This Qhylaat he put on with the usual ceremonies; after which he appointed Radja Pertavent, a Hedjur-bedi-brahman, who was citizen of the town of Sangmir, to be his Prime Minister, and the director of every affair of State in his dominions,

Selabet-djung's death.

Whilst Nizam-aaly was putting on his Qhylaat, Ragonat and Madh8-räo were going to pass the rainy season at P8nah, where dissentions soon arose between them to such a high degree, that Madh8-rao's Ministers determined to seize Ragonat's person on the first opportunity. It was in the year 1176. But the latter receiving timely notice of this scheme thought proper to provide for his safety. He set out from P8nah with a small number of followers, and took to the road of Nassuc. There was at that time at Aoreng-abad, a noble personage, by name Mahmed-m8rad-qhan-bahadyr, who had been sent thither by Nizam-aaly, to negotiate with the two parties and to pacify that nation. This nobleman hearing that Ragonat-räo had quitted P8nah in distress, marched out of the city, and met him upon the road, very near Nassuc. This was a lucky event for the fugitive, whose mind was full of fears and anxiety; for having advanced before his people to meet M8rad-qhan, he saluted him as a welcome friend; and the Marhatta Grandees concluding from this step of M8rad-qhan's that Ragonat-räo's cause was supported by Nizam-aaly, they flocked to him with their troops in such numbers, as soon to give his retinue the appearance of something like a military force. Ragonat-räo being thus reinforced, advanced from Aoreng-abad to Ahmed-nugur; whilst Madh8-räo, on his side, was quitting P8nah with a body of troops, and pushing for his enemy; and having soon overtaken him, an engagement took place, in which Madh8-räo, the nephew, was worsted by Ragonat-rao, the uncle. The next day he came to see him, and made use of many excuses. Whilst they were conferring together, Nizam-aaly, who had marched with intention to support Rag8nat-räo, arrived, but he found the quarrel already made up. It was at a place called Bedercan8r, where the Marhatta Prince advanced to meet him, and where they embraced each other; after which they interchanged several entertainments. Rag8nat-räo, to acknowledge the readiness with which Nizam-aaly had marched to his assistance, made him a present of several Districts to the amount of fifty lacs a year, to which he added the Fortress of Dö8let-abad. The patents of these two grants were drawn up in due form, and put in his hands. But this whole affair having been managed by M8rad-qhan alone, it gave so much jealousy to Radja Pertavent, the Prime Minister,

Dissensions and several engagements between Madh8-räo, the Marhatta ruler, and his uncle, Ragonat-räo

that he resolved to break a treaty which seemed to eclipse him. Without waiting till Nizam-aaly's people should have taken possession of the fortress, or settled Collectors and Governors all over the ceded Districts, he turned his master's mind in such manner, that he proposed to arrest Rag8nat-rão, and to substitute in his stead another Marhatta Prince, called Djano-dji, son to Rag8-dji-bosslah, who was then Mucasdar or hereditary Collector of the Province of Barar, and whom he brought to camp under promise of putting him at the head of the regency at P8nah. But whilst Nizam-aaly was regulating another man's house, he experienced dissensions in his own. His brother, Mirza-mogul deserted from his family, in order to throw himself in the arms of the Marhattas, but having soon discovered that his new friends were much more inclined to quarrel amongst themselves than to pay any attention to either his person or interest, he took a disgust at his situation, and came back to his brother, who received him kindly.

Meanwhile the first treaty having been broke in so unexpected a manner, Nizam-aaly marched with a numerous army against Rag8nat-rão, who being unwilling to try his forces in a pitched battle, wheeled round, and commenced plundering and ravaging the country; a practice from which there is no weaning a Marhatta. With thirty thousand horse, he advanced to the very suburbs of Aoreng-abad, and asked of the inhabitants of that city an immense contribution. But Mutemen-el-mulk, Governor of the Province, availed himself so well of the small force and small artillery, which he had at hand; he distributed the burghers so well upon the towers and walls of the city, and made so good an use of the activity of the Himmet-qhan-bahadyr, Cutval of the Police: that Rag8nat-rão was kept in play with negotiations and messages, until Nizam-aaly might be at hand. Nevertheless, the Marhatta, who was apprised of the state of the place, resolved to storm it. On the twentieth of Shaaban, in the year 1177, his people advanced at day-break to the foot of the wall, and applied to it a number of scaling ladders, as well as some of the loftiest elephants, by which expedient they got upon the wall; and tearing some boards from about the gates, they wanted to make use of them as a bridge to get down from the towers. But Himmet-qhan and Mirza-bakyr-qhan

Ragonat-rão attempts to escalade Aoreng-abad, but is vigorously repulsed.

having run directly to that part, and exhorted some of the bravest citizens that had followed them, to exert themselves in defending their honor and their families, this exhortation had such a good effect, that those brave burghers, some of whom were so ill armed, as to have no other arms than their own slippers, fell vigorously upon those that had got upon the wall, and overthrew them down on the other side, where they all perished; nor did another attack on an opposite part of the city succeed better. There were likewise numbers of Marhattas slain, and here likewise the citizens bravely defended their walls against the escalade. In the confusion the driver of the elephant on which Ragonat-räo rode, having been struck by a musket-ball and an arrow, the animal turned its back; and this arrow, like a line drawn across, parted the combatants. The attack ceased at once; and Rag8nat-räo, having had full time to bite the finger of shame and disappointment, returned to his camp. The next day, on hearing that Nizam-aaly's victorious standards were at hand, he decamped, and marched into the Buglana. This was the sixth day after Aoreng-abad had been invested; and Nizam-aaly arrived at the very time, when the Marhattas had turned towards Barar, with intention to saccage that province. But Nizam-aaly, advancing by long marches to Balap8r, threw himself in their way, and stopped them short, as by a wall. Ragonat-räo, sensible of this, wheeled round his rear, and giving him the slip, he marched close under the walls of Aoreng-abad, on his way to Haïder-abad itself, a Capital at fifteen days' journey from the latter city. Nizam-aaly pursued, and advanced on his pursuit as far as the shores of the Ganga of Decan. There he altered his mind, and instead of scampering after those freebooters, he thought it more advantageous to turn about, and to march straight to P8nah. Being arrived beyond Ahmed-nugur, he informed his Commanders as well as his army of his intention, and he declared that he meant no less than to pay those freebooters in kind, by burning their habitations and sacking their country. He was as good as his word, and putting his design into execution everywhere, he advanced within ten cosses of P8nah, where he encamped. The inhabitants of that Capital had fled with their families, either to the strongholds, or to some difficult mountainous tracts; and the city

remaining empty, it was set on fire, and with all its buildings, levelled with the ground; and both that city and its territory were plundered, sacked and ruined; nor was anything spared. Let us admire that Providence, which by Divine ways of its own, could bring about such an unexpected change. Three years before, whilst Baladji and his nephew, Sada-sy8, were alive, the Marhatta name was so much respected from the bottom of Decan up to the walls of Lahor, that no man could be found daring enough to lay his hand upon a straw belonging to a man of that nation; and behold! a short time after, P8nah itself, the Capital of that formidable Marhatta Empire, falls a prey to gangs of plunderers, and those buildings, that had cost lacs upon lacs, are plundered and sacked, and then given for food to a devouring fire. The date of this expedition has been conserved in the following verses of the composition of Mir-evlad-mahmed-zeca, nephew to Mir-g8lam-aaly, the freed, that famous Poet of Belgram, and here is the chronogram of that event, in the last verse of the following quartrain:

Nizam-aaly gives a finishing blow to the Marhatta power.

"This second Assef-dja(278), as powerful as Solomon,
Has burned and ruined the Capital of those Brahmans.
"Hear the date from your keen-sighted Poet Zeca:
"The Mussulman army has set on fire P8nah."

Whilst Nizam-aaly was sacking P8nah, Ragonat-rão was before the walls of Haïder-abad, exerting every nerve to make himself master of the city. But the Governor, Dilir-qhan, the Aoreng-abadian, had so well encouraged the citizens, had raised such a body of troops, made such a provision of necessaries, and disposed every thing so ably and with so much order, that all Ragonat's attacks and efforts proved abortive, and they ended only in his losing a great number of men. So that finding himself baffled here also, he fell back and retreated. The remainder of this singular campaign is not come to my knowledge, in

(278) Assef-dja is the last surname bestowed by the Emperor on Nizam-el-mulk. His son, Nizam-aaly, the only one of his numerous offspring that resembled his father in abilities, was himself surnamed Assef-dja-sani, or Assef-dja the second, the name used all along by our author, but which we have been obliged to drop, as our readers (if ever we have any) may be all English, a nation that knows that Prince only by his name of Nizam-aaly. This expression of Assef dja is that which the French, in their relations of the incursion of the Marhattas in the Carnatic in 1742, have been endeavouring to spell by the words Azeza and Azezia, &c., &c.

such a manner as to enable me to speak of it properly. Nevertheless, although little is to be expected from my slender abilities, I hope to be able to give a proper account of it, as soon as I acquire more particulars and more certain information on the subject. This much is only come to my knowledge, upon the affairs of Decan, that at this time, that is in the year 1195 of the Hedjira(279), Nizam-aaly-qhan, who richly deserves the title of second Assef-dja, enjoys now the dominion of most of the Provinces left him by his father, and governs with a firmness of command that does him honor. Only there is a report that in the war which rages now between the English and Haïder-naïc, in the Province of Arcat, and again between the English and the Marhattas in the western parts of Decan, Nizam-aaly is not so neutral as he looks, and that underhand he favorizes the Indian cause. But this I offer only as a surmise, as the truth of it is what God only may know.

My memoirs are much more certain with respect to the affairs of Hindostan, and the Capital of the Empire. S8r8dj-mull the Prince, Djatt, was unwilling to submit to Nedjib-ed-döwlah, whom the Abdali-king had appointed guardian of the young Prince Djuvan-baqht, as well as Regent of the Empire, until Shah-aalem himself should be arrived from Azim-abad. Sensible of the weakness of the Empire, he resolved to benefit by it at any rate, notwithstanding the dreadful chastisement that had been inflicted under his very eyes upon the Marhattas, and he opened a negotiation for that purpose with the Governor of the castle of Acber-abad. Without reflecting on the consequence of his action, he engaged him, under promise of a large sum of money, to deliver that citadel to him. And thus a Hindoo and a Djatt became the master of one of the two Capitals of Hindostan, that is of a mighty city where the Babrian Emperors had been these many ages hoarding up their treasures, stores, and precious fortune.

(279) 1780 of the Christian Era.

END OF THE SIXTEENTH SECTION, AND OF THE THIRD VOLUME.